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THE LEFT HEEL

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CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

CO-EDITORS:

ANN SCHUNIOR

BRYDEN GORDON

VOLUME (1)

October 3, 1966

NUMBER (1)

TENT
CITY

SNCC
SDS
STATEMENT

In the
NAME
of
DEMO-
CRACY

a

DREAM
deferred

allied
TERROR

UNC
aids
discrimination

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

With this issue of The Left Heel, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) hopes to inaugurate on the UNC campus a new era of dialogue and discussion. We feel that for too long the voices of unreflective conservatism have retained a monopoly at this university and that the publishing of new political and social ideas will help spark much-needed reflection and debate of significant issues.

The editorial staff wants to make clear its political and social orientation. We are members of what is termed the "New Left", and our editorials and theoretical discussions will reflect that general orientation. The specific contents of the political and social philosophies of the New Left are not the product of consensus, however; they will thus represent the varied and developing ideas of individual contributors. It is hoped that the dialogue presented in The Left Heel will both formulate and clarify propositions for and about the New Left.

The United States holds much potential, as do all societies, for becoming a truly great and humane society. It will become great only when people are allowed to fully participate in shaping their own lives--that is, only when it becomes truly and fully democratic. We are all confronted with the moral issues which face us both in Viet Nam and in the field of Civil Rights, with the widespread problems of poverty,

with a re-examination of the meaning of education and the purposes of a university, and with the role of the United States in the revolutionary world of today, both at home and abroad. It is with these issues that we, as participating citizens, will concern ourselves.

The Left Heel will contain a variety of elements: theoretical discussions, position papers, news reporting, book and movie reviews, and reports from students in foreign countries. Editing will be primarily technical, and each article is the sole responsibility of its author. We will gladly print articles written by those who disagree with us, provided that those articles are relevant and coherent arguments, rather than partisan assertions. Letters to the editor will be accepted on the same basis.

We hope that you will find this initial issue of The Left Heel both interesting and provocative, and that you will watch for and read subsequent issues. We also hope that you will discuss the questions raised in these pages with those around you. Any comments or suggestions on this undertaking will be both helpful and welcome.

--The Editors

Interested persons are invited to attend the next SDS meeting which will be held tonight, Monday, October 3 at 7:30 p.m. in

209

Hanes Hall

UNC AIDS DISCRIMINATION

The results of a comprehensive phone survey by summer S. D. S. necessitated the following letter regarding discrimination by those listing in the Housing Office.

September 16, 1966

Mr. J. C. Sitterson
Chancellor UNC - CH
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Chancellor Sitterson:

Today in Chapel Hill there is a moral issue before us. While everyone ought to enjoy the privileges of America without regard to race or color, we still encounter segregation and discrimination. The University, as a community of scholars and a representative of the state, is intellectually and legally bound to oppose the narrowness, prejudice and undemocratic nature of racial discrimination.

The Students for a Democratic Society feels that the University will welcome any opportunity to announce its support of racial equality. There is now such an opportunity. During the summer it has been documented that landlords who rent on a segregated basis are using the facilities of the University Housing Office to make contact with prospective tenants.

The issue is clear. This cannot go on. We welcome your support for the following program:

1. Effective immediately, the institution of a non-discriminatory pledge to be signed by all landlords as a prerequisite for using the housing office.
2. The creation of a student-faculty board to review alleged violations of the pledge.

We recognize your busy schedule but are sure that this matter will be given your immediate attention.

Sincerely yours,
Students for a Democratic Society
Leslie G. Carr, Acting Chairman

For Chancellor Sitterson's reply see page 4.

809136

September 23, 1966

Mr. Leslie G. Carr, Acting Chairman
Students for a Democratic Society
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Carr:

I am sorry that a brief absence from Chapel Hill has delayed my reply to your letter of September 16, but I do want to thank you for your expression of concern with respect to the listing of private accommodations by the University Housing Office.

Your letter arrived at a most opportune time since we have recently been engaged in a review of the many questions associated with the University's role in maintaining lists of available off-campus accommodations, including the fundamental question of whether this kind of service to students is legitimate and desirable use of University staff and facilities.

It will be apparent that a thorough review of this kind requires some time to complete but when this has been accomplished I will be very glad to let you know of the outcome. Meanwhile, let me assure you that in this area of function, as in all others, it is the firm intention of the University to recognize and adhere to its moral as well as its legal responsibilities, and these will be carefully kept in mind as we continue our examination of housing policies and practices.

Sincerely yours,
J. Carlyle Sitterson

While we appreciate Chancellor Sitterson's prompt reply, we must register our regret that he failed to deal with the issue. While a general review of housing policy is probably an appropriate thing for administrators to do, such a general review is beside the point. We raised the plain, specific point of the university's role in aiding housing discrimination. The simple fact is that while the old policy may be under review, that policy is still the operative one. Under that policy our fellow students are daily open to the demeaning fact of discrimination. We think that the University should act immediately to do its part in correcting this intolerable situation. While it will take time to review the general policy, it is possible to immediately institute a policy which will deny racism access to the University Housing Office.

It is curious that Chancellor Sitterson did not mention discrimination in his reply nor did he affirm a strong university policy against discrimination. For too long the university has failed to exercise
(continued on page 8)

TENT CITY

By Jerry Carr

We were several hundred yards east the field on which the tents were sitting before I realized what it was. I braked and pulled the car off the highway onto a dirt road. It was well into the afternoon--a sweltering hot afternoon in the Blackbelt of Alabama--and we were running late. We wanted to get to Tugaloo, Miss. for the rally that night. But the thought of getting out of the VW was more than a little appealing to the four of us. We quickly agreed that what we had seen must have been "tent city" and that we should go back to look at it.

I drove gingerly over the deeply rutted road that went by a garden patch and up a slight rise to the tents. We parked and walked on up to the tents. A Negro woman who had been dozing on a cot outside of her tent sat up to talk with us. The story which she told us was short. They had registered to vote. They had been thrown off the land. A number of tenant families having no place to go had acquired this little corner of a field and had pitched tents. The families had been there through the winter. The summer was worse, she said, because of the heat.

I wandered down toward an old woman sitting in a metal lawn chair. There was a young girl nearby cooking something on one of the black iron cookstoves that sat outside of the tents. As I walked by the tents I was aware of the general chaos of the place. Dogs and children were on the ground. Litter had collected.

(continued, p. 8)

IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY

By Bill Barkley

Despite the prolonged and intensive propaganda buildup for the September 11 elections in South Vietnam, incredibly little attention has been given to the crucial questions of who can vote, who and what parties can run, and who will count the ballots. Even a cursory examination of previous elections in Vietnam clearly demonstrates that the way those questions are answered has often had a greater influence on election results than any "will of the people." Since World War II, South Vietnam has participated in 10 major elections. The first one (the only one held over all of Vietnam) was organized by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by Ho Chi Minh to elect a legislative assembly to write a constitution. This was the first (and last) free election in which Vietnam south of the 17th parallel was to take part. Although some provisions of the electoral laws were slanted in favor of the Viet Minh Alliance, it must be remembered that in the North, balloting took place in the presence of Chinese Nationalist Occupation troops and, in the South, in the presence of British and French garrisons. A knowledgeable U.S. observer, Dr. Ellen J. Hammer reported that even under the strictest of Western standards, only a few more conservative candidates would have been elected (when will we realize that the Vietnamese

(continued, p. 9)

SNCC-SDS JOINT DRAFT STATEMENT

JOINT STATEMENT OF THE STUDENT
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COM-
MITTEE AND OF THE STUDENTS FOR
A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY ON THE CON-
SCRIPTION LAWS BEFORE THE HOUSE
COMMITTEE ON THE ARMED SERVICES

by Stokely Carmichael, Chairman
SNCC and Carl Oglesby, President
SDS.*

Mr. Chairman and members of
the House Committee on the Armed
Services: We have observed with
regret that thus far this Com-
mittee has seen fit to hear testi-
mony only from members of Congress
and from representatives of those
who presently make the decisions
under the conscription laws:
officials of the Selective Ser-
vice and of the Department of
Defense. None of those direct-
ly affected by these decisions has
been called to testify. We be-
lieve that such a selection of
witnesses is detrimental to the
democratic process; we are sub-
mitting this written statement so
that the Committee may have be-
fore it in its considerations a
minimal presentation of the views
of some of those who will be most
immediately affected by its
actions.

Permit us to make our position
quite clear. We are opposed to
the draft, and believe that it
should be abolished. We are
opposed to a system under which
a group of men can compel another

man who has had no voice in their
decision to renounce his liberty
and risk his life-blood for a
cause which is not his. No man
need be coerced to defend what
is in his interest, and no one
should be forced to kill for what
is in another's interest.

In a supposedly "free society"
conscription is a form of legal-
ized enslavement of the worst
kind: a slave had to serve his
master's economic interest with
labor and sweat; but a draftee
must serve the "national interest"
with murder and his own-blood.
Black men in the United States
are forced to kill their colored
brothers in Vietnam for \$95 a
month and the risk of death, in-
jury and disease; this is why we
oppose the draft. The Student
Nonviolent Coordinating Committee,
with the full sympathy and support
of the Students for a Democratic
Society, is presently calling for
the black people of America to or-
ganize for power, so that the young
black man will not find his living
conditions so dire that he will
become a mercenary to escape them.
We abhor a system which takes as
slaves those who do not go as mer-
cenaries.

We abhor a system which sends
young black men into Armed Forces
which are not responsive to their
interests. It is not in the in-
terest of the black people in
America to fight in Vietnam for
the United States' deceptive claim

of interest in the "freedom" of the Vietnamese; it is in their interest to receive the protection of federal troops when the exercise of their civil, constitutional and human rights is fraught with peril to their very existence. But black men in the United States Army are ordered to napalm Vietnamese villages, and not allowed to protect the black citizens of Mississippi from tear gas and clubs.

We note a number of the more blatant inequities in the operations of this inherently immoral Selective Service system: discrimination against the young, against the poor against the less well educated. We observe too, General Pershey's testimony before the House Committee on Education and Labor's Subcommittee on Manpower, that throughout the South there is hardly a black draft board member, and that apparently the entire states of Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana have only white Selective Service officials. However, the real evils of the system are so intrinsic that they cannot be dealt with by correcting some of the more obvious superficial injustices; conscription must be abolished.

It is our belief that the draft injures our whole society, and we are in sympathy with and support of all young men who refuse to equate their responsibility to a free society with obligation to assist in military aggression. Those who work for a new society in this country should not be sent to destroy incipient social workers in other nations.

Suggestions made recently concerning a scheme for "universal national service" are threats to the personal freedom of young Americans. Any such

system would give the federal government enormous power over our whole society and all the individuals within it. It would be an instrument for stifling whatever social change the government opposed and for controlling the destinies of millions under the guise of humanitarianism. We are consequently strongly opposed to any such scheme of "universal national service."

In conclusion, we urge this Committee to seek testimony from those who are affected by the decisions of the Selective Service as well as from those who make those decisions. We reiterate our position of opposition to the draft, and our belief that the only correction available for the conscription system is its abolition.

*Reprinted from the July 8, 1966 issue of New Left Notes.

TENT CITY

(cont. from p. 5)

The smell of the outhouses hung over the camp. The scrub pines gave no shade from the sun. There were rifles and shotguns within easy reach.

The old woman was badly crippled with arthritis. Her swollen feet were wrapped and a crutch was propped against her chair. She was friendly and mildly interested in the fact that we were going over to Mississippi to join the Meridith March. Another woman walked by carrying a bucket of water. She explained that they had to go across the road -- several hundred yards -- for all their water.

As I rejoined the others, a young Negro woman came striding into the camp. She wore sandals with high leather laces. Unlike the others her clothes were not worn out. She was SNCC. Her eyes and her voice communicated the same steady message. We were suddenly uncomfortable. The cameras seemed huge in our hands. The words with which she replied to our awkward comments had little relationship to the meaning in her tone and in her look.

As we walked away from her to the car I remembered the last time that I had felt like that. It was at a mass meeting of Negroes in a church in Tuscaloosa, Alabama during the "long, hot summer" of 1964. There was dried blood on the pews in that church and there was still enough tear gas vapor around to make one's eyes smart a little. In the course of the desperate-brave speeches that night one of the men said: "The only good white man is a dead white man." The Negroes around me in the

church cheered.

The feeling that I had that night in the church was the same feeling that I had before the gaze of the SNCC worker in the TENT CITY. I felt unbearably white.

DISCRIMINATION

(cont. from p. 4)

sufficient leadership in the field of civil rights. It now has a chance to exercise such leadership. In Chapel Hill, housing discrimination is more the rule than the exception. The university now has an opportunity to take a stand against such inhuman actions and begin to exercise the moral leadership commensurate with its role as a leading academic center.

Thus, in summary, we again ask the Chancellor to: (1) Address himself to the issue and make clear the university's position toward discrimination and, (2) Immediately, by executive order, institute a policy that would deny racists the help of the University Housing Office.

A DREAM DEFERRED

By Carol Wells

"What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore--
and then run?

Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over--
like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.

Or does it explode?"-- L. Hughes

(continued p. 10)

DEMOCRACY

(cont. from p. 5)

are radicals, as anybody in their economic and historical situation would be?) and the results would still have overwhelmingly favored Ho. Philippe Deirllers, a respected French officer, also stated that the elections clearly reflected the realities of Vietnam at that time.

With the outbreak of the Indo-China War, a promising start towards a regime which reflected the desire of the people was lost. However, in the midst of the Indo-China War on April 23, 1949, the Cochinchina Territorial Assembly (Cochinchina or Cochinchina consists of the Mekong lowland areas in South Vietnam and run upto the edge of the southern mountain plateau) voted against the government and their ally, the French, and for reunification with the North. The vote was 55 for, 6 against, and 2 abstentions. In 1953, a substitutive assembly of politicians and spiritual leaders again voted against the Saigon government of Bao Dai and its French allies by rejecting an offer to become part of the French Union. It was also in 1953 that the complete corruption of the democratic process in South Vietnam became obvious. An attempt was made to elect the first tier of municipal councils. In all credit to the French, it must be said that they had probably planned to keep the elections honest, but the right wing government's Dai-Viet (Great Vietnam) Party succeeded in having only 687 out of 5,861 villages declared "secure" enough for voting. This roused a flood of protests and the list was partially revised. By the

fall of 1955, Diem, with U.S. backing, had decided to refuse to honor the provisions in the Geneva Accords calling for elections on all of Vietnam under supervision of the signatories of the agreement. Instead, in October, 1955, Diem set up a referendum on a republic. In this election, the people had to choose between a picture of a smiling Diem in modern dress on a red (a lucky color in Vietnam) background and an unsmiling Bao Dai (the French puppet emperor) in traditional robes on a green (unlucky) background. In the Saigon-Cholon area alone, there were over 150,000 more votes recorded than were registered. Diem "won" by a landslide. The government was thus "legitimated" and provided the U.S. with most of the basis for intervention against the undeniable opposition which later coalesced into the NLF. In later elections for a national legislature (1956, 1959, & 1963) and president (1961) opposition parties were prevented from running candidates; the leading opponent in the presidential election was not permitted to address "assemblies of five people or more;" and an American educated opposition legislative candidate was elected despite 5,000 government troops which were moved into the area to vote against him, but was then barred from taking his seat. In the 1963 election when half the country was under NLF control Diem invented election statistics (6.8 million registered, 92% voted). The 123 man legislature

(continued p. 11)

A DREAM DEFERRED

(cont. from p. 8)

The residents of the Knolls Park--Lincoln High School area between Chapel Hill and Carrboro might answer that a deferred dream keeps on getting deferred. For six years they've had a rather simple dream--a dream of sewer service, of indoor toilets, of sidewalks, streetlamps and paved roads. These are things usually provided by the town in which one lives. Unfortunately, there is no town to which these people can turn.

Six years ago they petitioned Chapel Hill, requesting that their area be annexed to the town. Annexation was refused. After more petitions were circulated and in their turn, refused, Chapel Hill decided to pass the buck, stating that the area was more logically a part of Carrboro. Action appeared imminent. The most recent petition was drawn up last winter. In response to this a public meeting was finally held (on May 24, 1966) to determine whether the area should be annexed to Carrboro. Eighty people attended the meeting and no opposition was expressed to the annexation. Mr. Todd, the town manager, read a report prepared by his office stating that the area met all standards for annexation, and documenting the sewage and road-work needs. This documentation was supplemented with slides of the area taken by Jake Wicker, of the Institute of Government. The Report concluded by saying "It is clear that extension of municipal services to the Lincoln-Knolls area would promote the general good of the community and since the area can be served by the Carrboro

sewage system, it seems most logical for Carrboro to annex the area."

Mr. Todd stated, "I don't know of any area which needs town services more or which would welcome them more than this one."

Members of the Board of Commissioners privately conceded at that time that they might ask Carrboro voters to approve a bond issue which would lead to annexation.

Deferrment came again. The dream has been deferred for a "gravity report" (very seriously) detailing the direction in which sewage is expected to flow. It seems that some of the sewage might "more logically" be sent in the direction of the Chapel Hill sewage plant. If this is so, annexation will be held up again.

The Carrboro Planning Board will meet on October 11 to decide on their course of action. The report on sewage flow will be a deciding factor in their decision on annexation.

The people of the Lincoln-Knolls area are poor and live in a county where low cost housing is scarce. What do they do while bureaucracy processes their request? Why must changes for the poor take so long?

"Some people say they don't kick dreams around downtown.

I expect they do."

L. Hughes

DEMOCRACY

(cont. from p. 9)

lected" was a cross section of the ruling oligarchy with not one factory worker, Buddhist leader, labor union official or rubber plantation worker. In 1965, Article of the Provisional Charter promulgated by a civilian dominated regime stated "freedom of speech may not be abused. . . to make propaganda for communism and neutralism". What constituted "propaganda for communism and neutralism" was of course left up to the government controlled police. Several arrests and jailings soon made it obvious that the government was serious about this provision. Needless-to-say, the 1965 election held with this provision still in effect was in no sense of the word a free election. It didn't matter however, since shortly after the election Thieu and Ky assumed power. Because they wanted to rule without popular advice, many of the elected officials were never installed. This was the first "election" held before the Buddhist popular agitation forced them to hold the September 11 elections.--TO BE CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

ALLIED TERRORISM

On August 5, 1966 the Associated Press (as reported in the Charlotte Observer) released a dispatch describing the activities of the "skull and Crossbones" Cammandos of the South Vietnamese Army. The cammandos were organized to spread terror amongst the civilian population of South Vietnam. The AP dispatch describes one of the Cammando terrorist raids on the village of Can den. All homes and buildings in the village were burned to the ground, and the peasants were not allowed to remove either clothing or food stores from their homes. All animals in the village were slaughtered. Quoting the AP dispatch: "Encountering a herd of 40 water buffaloes, the commandos pumped several grenades into them to slow them down. Then the leader took two men with him and killed or maimed the lot in 15 minutes.

One buffalo represents about one year's income for a Vietnamese farmer."

The leader of the cammandos remarked that, "If the Viet Cong think they know what destruction is, let them see what we can do." And a fellow cammando succinctly expressed the aim of such inhuman and stupid actions: "By spreading terror, we hope to counter terror."

VIETNAM

34,279

CASUALTIES

Pentagon Release--9-11-66

MOTORCYCLE MOVIES

By William Matthews

The Wild One (1950) started a new style of teen-age rebellion and posturing, and a new genre of Hollywood movies appealing to the teen-age market. The latest in this line, The Wild Angels, makes an interesting contrast to the father of form.

The earlier film begins with a magnificent title sequence. We see an empty highway, then hear a growing locust drone, and finally a motorcycle gang barrels right at the camera. From there on the film is wildly even but never dull, except in the love scenes. Marlon Brando is the hero but, although I saw the film again very recently, I can't remember name, looks, or anything about the girl. Lee Marvin is effectively bellicose as Brando's rival. The plot--a siege of a drowsy mid-western town by a motorcycle gang--has a built-in element of drama to match the good acting. What hurts the film is the uneven match between its antagonists.

Brando invented in this film the role which typifies one opponent: the sensitive, inarticulate outsider, all mumble gesture, and physical presence, impatient with a society that will not accept him on his own terms. But society, which should be the other opponent, is completely undescribed and unpersonified. The people in the town are decent folk: square, stodgy, true-blue. I kept asking myself the big question in the film, which, when it is asked, provides

a fine and crucial moment, but the script didn't even develop the most obvious possibility, that Brando is rebelling against the oppressive boredom and pettiness of life as the townspeople conduct and conserve it.

When someone gets around to asking Brando what he is rebelling against, it is the best moment in the film. He hitches and mumbles and stares, then drawls, "Whattya got?"

And thus, from an artistic flaw in the original, the sequels and copies all came to stress and be flawed by the same lack of a realized object of rebellion. Rebels all, but always without a cause.

The Wild Angels, also about a motorcycle gang, preserves the flaw intact. On top of this it has wretched acting by Peter Fonda and Nancy Sinatra, and the worst kind of hack script. But it was directed by Roger Corman, whose Poe adaptations intrigued critics and won him a cult following. The film fits Corman's pattern: acting and script moving in one direction (down), visual elements in another. Through color and his flair for melodramatic composition, Corman creates a visual imagery of Satanism, Nazism, homosexuality, drugs, and aggressive sexuality--all of this, however, is only incidentally related to the rest of the film. And at whom is all this aimed? The same shapeless opponent, his name updated, The Man.

See The Wild One, Friday Free Flick

THE LEFT HEEL

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ANN SCHUNIOR

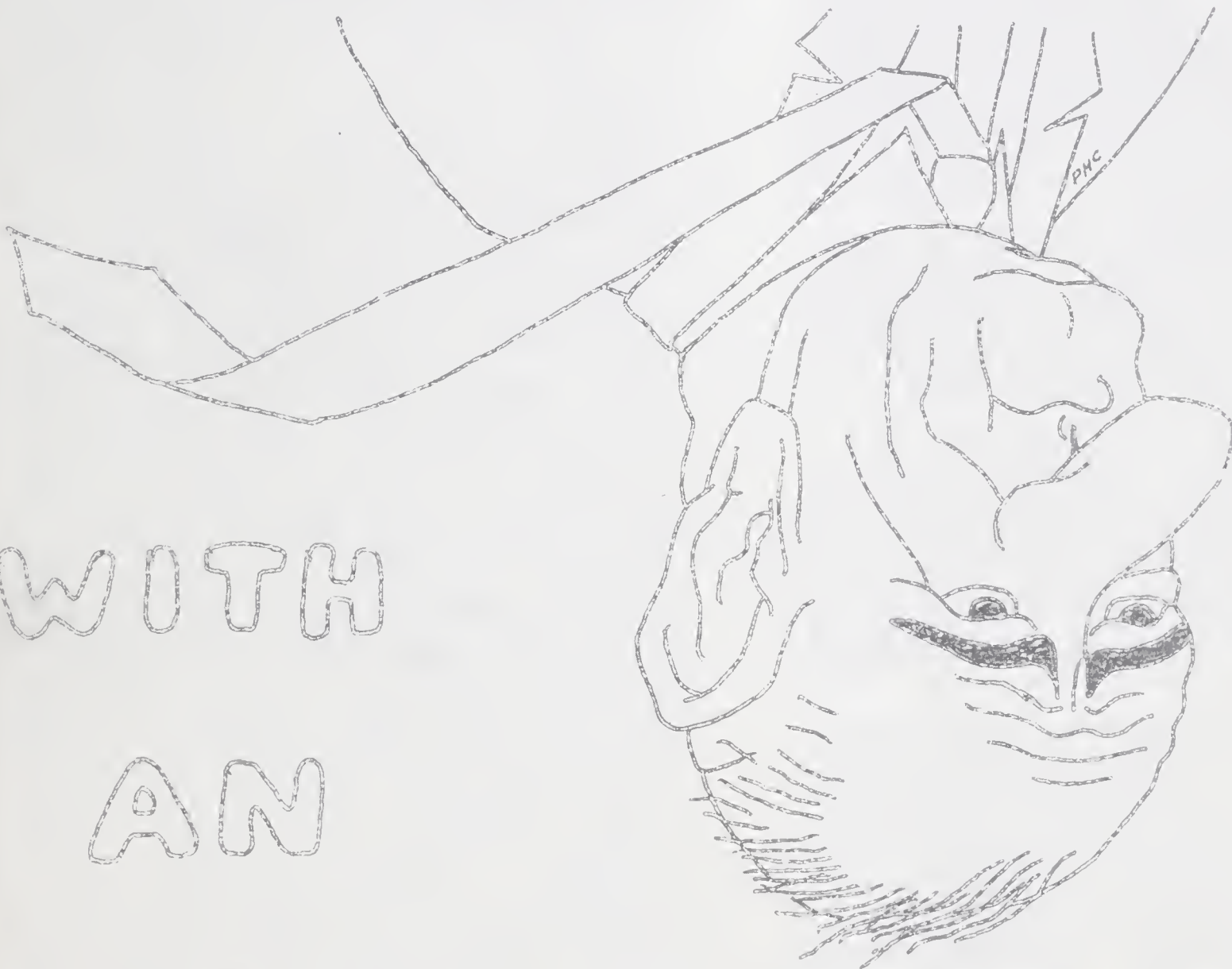
BRYDEN GORDON

VOLUME (1)

October 17, 1966

NUMBER (2)

THE BULLY



WITH
AN

AIR FORCE

A Cloak for Racists

By The Editors

The election of Lester Maddox in the Georgia Democratic primaries comes as no surprise to us. His victory simply destroys the myth of Georgia as a progressive state. Clearly Maddox was elected by a backlash from whites who were terrified by the recent Atlanta riots. Once again the so-called moderates in Georgia politics shift the blame for the riots and the racists from themselves to SNCC, to cover their own failures in dealing with Georgia's economic problems. The riots occurred not in the Atlanta ghetto where SNCC has been organizing toward needed social reform, but on the other side where no organization has been working.

Georgia politics always have been clearly racist. The Georgia State Legislature in early 1965 refused to seat Julian Bond, a Negro elected to represent Atlanta's ghetto. Georgia remains quiet; no politicians protest the injustice. Where are the moderates? Is this the mark of a progressive state as its leading politicians claim?

The riots were another sign that racists controlled Georgia's politics. Riots cannot be caused by inflammatory speeches if the speeches are not appropriate to the situation. The riots were caused by the basic discontent of the Negroes resulting from the op-

pression of the white power structure. Those in power, those that cry in alarm at Maddox's election, have kept the Negroes in their ghettos, and the ghettos in slum conditions. It was the dirt of the slums, the lack of jobs, the police brutality, and the political impotency of the residents that cause the riots. It is the Georgia 'moderate' politicians that have perpetuated these conditions. These men, not SNCC, must be blamed for the riots and the white backlash that followed.

Let's look at one of these moderate Georgians, the one who mourns the loudest over Maddox's election, Charles Weltner. He withdrew his Candidacy for re-election to the House of Representatives because he said he could not support a man like Maddox. He is hailed as one of Georgia's liberals. But what kind of liberal is he? It was Weltner who instigated HUAC's investigation of the KKK. Is it a liberal who encourages HUAC as it tramples over the civil liberties of all in its path? This investigation of the Klan made it possible for President Johnson in 1966 to defer needed civil rights legislation. Johnson claimed that the investigation of the Klan would turn out the needed legislation. But the red-necks in HUAC should never have been expected to

(Cont. p. 15)

The Beginning of Ideology

By Chuck Schunior

We live in the era of the "end of ideology," of the all-embracing L.B.J. consensus, of the desertion of liberals from the field of substantive political dialogue, and of the yawning vacuum and howling circus which are the two faces of politics in this country. One would think that in this context the issue of radical democratic change would be as likely to spring up in public circles as the issue of contraception at a spinsters' tea. Certainly America believes that it has killed revolution.

The most fashionable notion among liberals during the 50's was that America's fundamental problems had been finally ironed out — what remained was a constant process of oiling the cogs and painting over the cracks in the triumphant Mixed-system Welfare State. Only in recent years has the euphoria been challenged, the tea party been crashed. Young intellectuals and activists on the left, e.g. in S.D.S and SECC, have witnessed the fact that the "ideology" of anti-ideology consensus is only an apologia for a mood — a mood of unadulterated political complacency. Behind the obtrusive billboards of the Great Society, these new radicals have caught glimpses of an ungreat Society sick with poverty, rampant with a mindless unharnessed technological revolution, thwarting rather than mediating human po-

tential. Confronted by these painful contradictions they have had the candor to say "someone is putting us on!"

So in response to the American reality of elite control and manipulation, the new radicals have countered with the ideal of people participating directly in formulating the nature of their political, economic, and cultural environments. To the arrogant and officious disregard for common people, they counter with a Narodniki-like passion for seeking out the roots of populism and for confronting people with genuine issues in language they understand. To the passive absorption of public platitudes and social myths, the new radicals pose a healthy cynicism, and a distaste for "party lines."

It is, however, to this last characteristic of the new radicals to which I wish to direct the crux of my comments, for it suggests an issue which is central to the problem of stimulating radical democratic change. This issue is that of the possibility of building a long-term, large-scale socio-political movement without a coherent ideology of at least a tentative and open-ended nature. My position is that such an ideology is a requisite of high priority for the movement, basically for the following reasons:

(continued p. 18)

About the Cover

"Only, listen, Lyndon Johnson, you have gone too far this time. You are a bully with an air force, and since you will not call off your air force, there are young people who will persecute you back. It is a little thing, but it will hound you. For listen--this is only one of the thousand things they will do to you.

"They will print up little pictures of you, Lyndon Johnson, the size of post cards, the size of stamps, and some will glue these pictures to walls and posters and telephone booths and billboards... Silently, without a word, the photograph of you, Lyndon Johnson will start appearing everywhere, upside down. Your head will speak out--even to the peasant in Asia--it will say that not all Americans are unaware of your monstrous vanity, overwhelming piety, and doubtful motive. It will tell them that we trust our president so little, and think so little of him, that we see his picture everywhere upside down.

"You, Lyndon Johnson, will see those pictures everywhere upside down, four inches high and forty feet high; you, Lyndon Baines Johnson, will be coming up for air everywhere upside down... your war in Vietnam. Everywhere upside down. Everywhere, everywhere."--Norman Mailer

SDS New Left Notes 9 Sept.

TONIGHT--SDS

THOSE LEFT BEHIND--THE POOR WHITES

By Ann Schunior

This is part of a working paper to be read at tonight's SW meeting. The concluding sections of the paper (omitted here) deal with ways organizers might deal with the problem of organizing whites and influencing their racial attitudes. Anyone interested in this discussion is invited to attend the meeting.

One of the best words for the poor whites' reaction to the civil rights movement is fear. Superficially they are afraid of the Negro moving next door. Or as one woman expressed it: "One day we'll have to get our jobs from them." The general fear of the movement is so deep that it completely clouds their perception of the world around them. About a month before I arrived in this neighborhood, the Negroes in the city's other housing project had decided to complain to the manager of both projects (both were under the same management) about some unfair practices of the management. The problems were common to both projects. As the manager's office was in the white project, the Negroes walked--with appropriate pickets--from their project, through the white project and to the office. Later I asked the whites if there had been any civil rights demonstrations in the city. They told me of the march through the housing (continued on p. 14)

Candidates Barred

The following article is excerpted from the national SDS newspaper, the New Left Notes, September 9, 1966.

The situation described in this article raises the issue of a threat to the pursuit of democracy not from the far right but from fully legitimized and accepted sectors of our political life: a local Democratic Party, a local Board of Election Commissioners and a State Supreme Court. The fact that so flagrant a violation of both the letter and spirit of democracy can be perpetrated and tolerated, even just once (and it is naive to believe that this sort of thing is a one time affair), begins to suggest the possibility that democracy is becoming more an historical phenomenon rather than being a concept appropriate to describe the predominant political process in this country.

To smugly, ignorantly or devishly allow this sort of thing to occur is to be irresponsible about the way in which the word "democracy" is used. It also betrays insensitivity to the powerful object lesson the rise of totalitarian regimes have to offer--i.e., that the erosion away of basic human and political rights happen neither overnight or in a nation that is necessarily, obviously or inherently evil. No system is invulnerable. To assume or act as if it is becomes an instance where ignorance and irresponsibility

assume tragic proportions.--Judy Weinberg

CANDIDATES BARRED C. Clark Kissinger

On the evening of July 17, a meeting of 30 residents of Chicago's far north side met and decided to run two independent candidates for the Illinois legislature. They adopted a platform calling for an end to the war and a reallocation of national resources, for a state owned credit agency, for a civilian review board for police, for a directly elected school board, for an end to patronage jobs in Chicago, for a \$2 minimum wage, for the recognition of welfare recipients unions, and many other things.

In the following weeks the campaign gained steam. For a number of technical reasons, the candidates were slated as a new party--the Citizens Independent Party--and not as separate independents. And their candidacies were perceived as part of a long term effort to build a radicalized constituency and an independent electoral apparatus in a white middle-class neighborhood.

In only four weeks the four staff members of the 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action and several dozen volunteers from the community were able to gather 6,386 signatures on the petition to slate the new party. Gathered in an area of only two wards, the petition represented the largest petition

(Continued on p. 16)

Black Power

By William H. Cheeks

During the Post Civil War, there developed what some call Black Reconstruction, roughly 1867-1877, which was the beginning of the reign of the idea of Black Power among a few ambitious Negroes who had been engaged with the idea of liberating their fellow "soul brothers" (Negroes) from the pernicious shackles of the "White Madmen" of their time. However, this only lasted for a short while, because the "Madmen" were again on the scene and were much more vicious than before, and sought to put the Negro back into his subservient role of inferiority. This took away all the political ideas of "Participatory Democracy" (from the Negro) and left the Black Man politically hopeless, homeless, and boundless. This meant that the Black Man had no voice in the laws that were made to govern him whether he liked them or not.

Much to my dismay, Negroes flocked to the Army in World Wars I and II with the hope of gaining new respect and becoming a part of the American mainstream. However, it didn't work out that way because the Black Man were still denied the right to vote, use public accommodations, and attend the most competent school - and they still had no voice over matters that concerned them as a whole. At this point, the Black

Man had lost all appreciation of himself, his background, and his physiological likeness. He had tried to institute change with Rosa Parks, NAACP, CORE, Martin Luther King's non-violent theory, court "justice" which was white, pickets, boycotts, thousands of orderly demonstrations - but he still remains poor, discriminated against, "last hired and first fired." So, now he turns to Black Power.

"Black Power" has meant a thousand different things to a thousand different people. But to me, it means salvation and liberation of the Black Man from the state of hopelessness and total frustration of the kind which is typical of Americans. This may mean that someone's "feelings" will get hurt, or a so-called friend or two may wander away, but then, this is true of any movement that is ignited - "sacrifice a few for the many." Black Power also seeks to create in the Black Man a sense of identification. In other words, a reappraisal of acceptance of the Afro-American Past, and a glorification of the contemporary ideology of "Negritude" which has spread from Africa to America.

Most important though, is "Political Control", where the Black Man has a majority voting power like Lowndes County in Alabama

(75% Black). By gaining political control in some places, no more will he have to beg, crawl, and die for that which belongs to him--Equality!

White radical liberals can't be utilized with any magnitude, because they would only be standing symbols of the traditional paternalism which they themselves may have been practicing, but not totally aware of it, and certainly this would present a problem. So, as an alternative, instead of cowardly fighting "like hell" for integration, the Black Man must unite and use that energy to fight for political prominence in the American Political arena and become a gladiator before the very eyes of those who have tried to destroy him.

(Too long, Black people in America have waited on the "Lord" to bring about social, economic and political changes, but these things the "Lord" can't do, because He's too busy "drinking wine from the river of life with His 'sexy' angels in His affluent society.")

Human Nature implies restraint in the philosophy of "turning the other cheek." Nature says fight or flight, but there is no place to fly to, so "fight" is the only thing left. This doesn't imply a declaration of war on all whites in America, because that is impossible, thus, the ballot is what is left and the liberal-conservatives cannot be trusted, so there has to be Black candidates elected who will truly speak for white and Black alike.

Carmichael once said that it may be imperative to get a Negro whose skin is black and whose lips are thick" to lead the masses, in order to rid the Black man of the low self-esteem that he has acquired as a result of everything being white; TV, movies, advertising, clerks, etc., even J.C. speaks of white as being pure and Black or darkness as being evil.

This is what Black Power is all about. It certainly doesn't mean--hate, Black supremacy, or violence. But it does mean gaining some control, protecting oneself, glorifying the African Past, and fearing no man either because of intelligence or threats of physical retaliation, and lifting your head in pride rather than lowering it in shame--Be Proud to be Black!

SDS REORGANIZED

By Gary Waller

This fall SDS has undergone reorganization. With a significantly increased membership, SDS has created a new committee structure. This was done for several reasons: 1) The increased membership made such division of labor possible, 2) This division of labor would allow for more intensive analysis of many areas of concern, 3) This more intensive level of analysis would allow SDS to develop more detailed and broad range programs of action.

In the past SDS, acting on an ad hoc basis, has not been able to develop general ongoing programs

(Cont. p. 20)

Never Too Late

By Joel Kaylor

The question of race relations in the United States has many sides to it. Even among the Negro citizens of our country there **have developed** moderate as well as militant philosophies dealing with "integration."

The moderate tactics, perhaps called liberal by some, are expressed in the words of Martin Luther King Jr., who says that the only way to overcome violent enemies is with non-violent love and that the Negroes should never sink to the level of their enemies by trying to kill them or by emphasizing racial differences. S.N.C.C. leaders, however, are coming to realize that a radical Negro movement to promote pride and confidence among Negro people (black power), is the direction to take at the present time. While Negroes are being non-violent they are being shot in the back and they are not gaining any ground in civil rights or political power.

"From 'Freedom Now' to 'Black Power'", N.Y. Times Magazine article, Sept. 25, 66, expresses the idea that "to be a Snick member these days, one has to be simultaneously angered, amused and frustrated by the society around him. It also helps if you are a Negro," the article continues, "and can quote at length from Malcolm X Speaks,

a collection of speeches given by the late black nationalist in the year preceeding his assassination."

S.N.C.C. has been characterized as defining the problems of the Negro citizens as those arising from "internal colonialism." Indeed, all foreign immigrants must lose their cultural traits such as speech, dress and family patterns, and conform to what the white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxons of our country dictate. To most ethnic or cultural groups this has been no problem, since European migrants to this country have been most numerous. However, due to a historical situation that arose over the institution of slavery in our country and because of the strict codes of religion, marriage and conduct, the Negroes have been totally disenfranchized. Unlike the situation in South America where a need for females created a racially-mixed population very early, the U.S. still is segregating the Negro population in many ways.

Who is this man, Malcolm X, called a "black nationalist," who caused so much re-examination of policy on the part of S.N.C.C. leaders and who has been looked to by Negro writers and artists as the "great catalyst," the man "who inspired self-respect and devotion in the down-trodden millions." Thus (cont. p. 13,)

A Call for Freedom

A recent act by the Chancellor raises some questions as to what is going on here in Chapel Hill. During the past summer it was documented by SDS, NAACP, and a faculty group that the facilities of the University Housing Office were being made available to landlords who were renting on a segregated basis. SDS made this known to the Chancellor and suggested a two step remedy: 1) The institution of a non-discriminatory pledge to be signed by all landlords and 2) The creation of a student-faculty (non-administration) board to handle alleged violations of the pledge.

The Chancellor has in essence agreed to the pledge but has refused the idea of a board. He has reserved the right to unilaterally handle the processing of any claims involving the pledge. This is a typical move. The mentality of bureaucracies like that in South Building is basically ahistorical. They proceed by standard procedures as they are. Therefore, since they have handled student housing in the past, they will continue to do so.

The bureaucrats see the university as an important cog serving the needs of American society. Their goals include training the social ideology.

The democratic notions of due process and consensus of the gov-

By Stuart Matthews
 erned; and the universalist responsibility and spiritual freedom necessary for learning, questioning and growing have consequences which inevitably repudiate the bureaucrats. Throughout history there has been a clash between the university and its society. Sheriffs, clerics, kings, generals and legislators have invaded the campus to get more soldiers, converts and nationalists. By definition the university should stand against them. The culture of scholars is international, and comprises an awareness of the past, present and future. We do not easily abide by local prejudices. We stand against specific societies precisely because they do not socialize to a universal or potential culture, while we should.

In this conflict the administrators are the stooges of provincialism. This leaves South Building with two options in handling demands for student responsibility and consent of the governed: 1) They can foster a showcase sham democracy like student government. Behind the facade of political parties, committees and big offices, what can student government really do about women's rules or curriculum reform? They can get the girls another hour or a course or two, but what if Powell told Sitterson

(cont. p. 20)

In The Name of Democracy

Part II

On Sept. 12, the Ky-Thieu government announced that almost 81% of those registered had voted in the South Vietnamese elections, and called this a triumph for democracy. Similar sentiments were voiced by many political leaders in the U.S. Johnson stated that the Vietnamese elections "give us a lasting lesson in democracy." Such a convincing "lesson in democracy" should be examined by all. First, the conditions under which the campaign and the election took place:

On May 17, 1965, Decree Law No. 004/65 was promulgated by the Ky-Thieu government. This law, which has continued in effect and enforcement, states that "all moves which weaken the national anti-Communist struggle of the people and the armed forces," and "all plots and actions under the false name of peace and neutrality," are crimes punishable by 1-5 years in jail. It would thus be a crime for anyone to run on a platform advocating negotiation with the NLF, the withdrawal of U.S. troops, or the neutralization of Vietnam, or for anyone to vote for a candidate running on such a platform. The Ky government announced that persons with "Communist, neutralist, or criminal backgrounds" could not run for office. None of this International Neutralist Conspiracy for us! Whether or not a person has one of these "backgrounds" was determined by one of the forty-nine review boards completely se-

lected by the government. Many candidates were rejected by these boards after screenings by the government's police force. In addition, many other candidates, who knew they had offended the government, did not even attempt to run. Between 60 and 100 military and civil service candidates who were staunch supporters of the Ky regime were placed first or second on the ballots in areas where only one candidate was to be chosen and the rest were placed first in the slats in the areas which were to elect more than one representative. Of the forty-nine electoral districts in South Vietnam, twenty-five elected more than one representative with proportional representation among slates of candidates. The candidates were grouped into slates by the government, with those at the top of each slate being the most likely to be elected (unless the slate wins all the votes). About 4,000 or 5,000 Buddhist leaders are still in jail (such as Bui Thong, former president of the University of Hue) and others such as Tran Quang Thuan, former Secretary for Social Welfare, are in hiding. Since many of these were popular leaders, this conveniently takes care of much potential opposition to the government. In fact,

one reporter states that two of the three people he went to Vietnam to see were in jail. The Ky government would not allow party slates, thus helping to assure easy control of the assembly. Perhaps most significant, U Thant refused to send observers so that the election would not have the United Nations stamp of approval. This ends Lesson I in Democracy.

Lesson II deals with how to get the voting turnout that was needed to impress the U.S. and the world with the peasants respect for and attachment to the Ky regime. Several U.S. reporters commented on the apathy surrounding the elections. "The formal opening of Saigon's constituent assembly election campaign was postponed tonight. The officially announced reason was rain. The real reason was voter apathy. Perhaps a half-dozen voters showed up... 'There is simply no interest,' a candidate said." (Ralph H. Kennan in Baltimore Sun, Aug. 29)

"In two weeks of campaigning, the candidates have not discussed the war, how to win it or how to negotiate its end... More than a few hundred people seldom show up at a meeting and often almost no one shows up." (Charles Mohr from Saigon, New York Times, Sept. 8)

To overcome this apathy, a whispering campaign was started which made it known that those who did not vote would suffer reprisals. (The registration cards the people were issued would not be clipped unless they cast

their ballot.) In many of the villages, the local chiefs exerted pressure on the inhabitants to vote. "Most ordinary Vietnamese assume they had better vote to 'avoid trouble' in future official dealings." (Richard Critchfield in Washington Star, Sept. 3)

"In the 2nd Military Corps area, commanded by Gen. Vinh Luc, a recent directive instructed local police, army officers, and other functionaries to take opponents of the election into custody. The directive also recommended the initiation of a whispering campaign designed to spread the word that non-voters could find themselves in trouble." (Stanley Karnow in Washington Post, Sept. 11)

Of course if this did not work, there was still the army, which, as one Vietnamese told a correspondent, could and would vote several times as it had often done under the Diem regime. This would make a boycott (as advocated by the NLF, most political parties, and elements of the Buddhists, and the Catholics) useless. Most importantly, of course, the Ky regime was in complete control of the entire election machinery including counting and reporting the vote. Four hours after the polls closed, the BBC was able to announce that 75% of the registered had voted (the percentage was later upped). The Manchester Guardian noted that this was "incredible

(continued, p.12)

DEMOCRACY

(cont. from p.11)

counting and communication" for a country not noted for the speed and accuracy of either. After the total had been placed at 80%, Chet Huntley stated that 50% would be more realistic. Although there has been no full census for thirty years, the estimated population of South Vietnam is 16,000,000, of which, according to administration experts, about 54% (9,640,000) is under Saigon control. The New Republic noted that with the young age structure of South Vietnam, this would mean about 50% (4,820,000) over the voting age of 18. Of this number 56% were registered (2,669,200) and supposedly 80% of these voted (2,135,000) - yet the Ky regime claimed that 4,274,812 ballots were cast. As the returns were reported by individual provinces, the suspicions of ballot-stuffing were confirmed. The highest percentages were in areas where NLF strength is and has been the greatest. This ranged up to Binh Dinh province, which is the location of at least two NLF regiments, where over 90% turnout was reported with none of the NLF strongholds claiming less than 72% turnout. This is stretching credibility too far.

Lesson III in our course in Democracy is brief. The elected assembly can do one thing, i.e. write a constitution, and then disband within six months. But wait - they cannot even do that.

The Ky junta can accept, reject, or rewrite any or all of the constitution and the assembly can overrule this only by a 2/3 vote. Thus, any proposal of the government that is not defeated by at least a 2/3 vote becomes part of the constitution. With 18 military men, 18 civil servants, and 30 Catholics elected (not all of each of these groups are pro-government, but most are) it appears the Ky regime will have no trouble getting the 39 votes (1/3 of the 117 delegates) needed to manipulate the assembly. Mark Frankland, of the London Observer notes (Sept. 11) that Ky had "made it embarrassingly clear in the last few days" the type of constitution he wants.

An election in which the incumbent government decides who can run, what he can talk about, the government counts the ballots and reports the vote, and then tells the successful candidates what they can and can not do - Johnsonian Democracy.

D.T.H.

Want AD

Oct. 4

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NEVER TOO LATE

(Cont. from p. 8)

M.S. Handler, in his introduction to The Autobiography of Malcolm X, describes Malcolm Little...the black panther. Many people have been deeply moved by the straight-forwardness of wording and style of this book. Handler feels that the social and political ideas expressed by Malcolm X are quite well thought out, very clear, even if they are a bit devastating. Indeed, many social myths of white society are exploded.

The great impact Malcolm X had on the Negroes who knew of him was the fact that he, Malcolm Little, had attained "human redemption" in his lifetime. Malcolm had "purged himself of all the ills that afflict the depressed Negro mass: drugs, alcohol, tobacco, not to mention criminal pursuits." For this he was, and is, to be respected. By embracing the Muslim religion, Malcolm gave up almost all of his former life patterns. Furthermore, he did all of this while in prison and followed the new principles to the letter.

It is, however, necessary to understand the childhood and adolescence of Malcolm Little to understand the man. He was born in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1925, the son of a Baptist minister. His father, a disciple of Marcus Garvey, believed "that freedom, independence, and self-respect could never be achieved by the Negro in America, and that there-

fore the Negro should leave America to the White man and return to his African land of origin." Malcolm remembers his father chanting at church services, "Up, you mighty race, you can accomplish what you will!" Malcolm's father was brutally killed by white racists of the Black Legion, not long after his family had moved to Lansing, Michigan. Religion of the holy roller type, mystery (his mother had visions), hardship and discrimination filled Malcolm's childhood. After his father's death, Malcolm's mother was extremely strained in trying to maintain the family's pride and self-respect. The State Welfare people, instead of trying to help keep the family together or asking the mother how they might help her, proceeded to break the family up. Malcolm was put in a foster home. Through Alex Haley, the aide in writing this book, Malcolm described his mother's eventual mental breakdown. By the time he was thirteen, Malcolm had become a delinquent and was sent to a detention home, a place where children are held prior to going to a "reform school." There he was treated kindly and encouraged to go to school, get a job (as a dishwasher), and "do well." Although he did do well, showing second-highest marks in his class, he came to the harsh realization that he was only a "mascot" in the eyes of the couple who ran the detention

NEVER TOO LATE

(Cont. from p. 13)

home, in the eyes of the schools' basketball team, and even in the eyes of the teachers at school. What he realized was that "it just never dawned on them that (he) could understand, that (he) wasn't a pet but a human being. They didn't give him credit for having the same sensitivity, intellect, and understanding that they would have been ready and willing to recognize in a white boy in (his) position." Indeed, many white "liberals" today, in our country do not perceive of the Negro individual on human terms. The Negro is not a person like a next door neighbor or a son-in-law. The cruelty that whites unconsciously exhibited to Malcolm played a great part in the development of his hostility toward white society. The ambivalence of it all was too much. Malcolm left the mid-west and went to Boston. There he proceeded in easy steps to the underworld, where he remained until, during his prison term, he converted to the Muslim faith and revived his intellectual capacities.

The final, most important, part of the book relates the process during which Malcolm X took another step in his philosophical progression. Malcolm, isolated in his youth and early manhood had within a few years become a nationally known figure. The bitterness from years of depression began to wear off. He met white

men who did not fit the stereotyped "white devil" he preached of. He spoke on college campuses, and was surprised with positive responses; he had growing doubts about the Muslim religion in the form taught by Elijah Muhammed; he traveled to Mecca and saw the brotherhood of men of all colors under the Muslim religion. All this changed Malcolm. He developed a new philosophy that included Negroes as an integral part of American society. Before he was able to really do much for race relations in the U.S., he was killed by an assassin's bullets.

POOR WHITES

(Cont. from p. 4)

project. When I asked what the march was about, they explained that they weren't positive, but were fairly sure the Negroes wanted to move into the white project. The whites were so threatened by the march that they were afraid to look at the picket signs and see what it was really about.

The whites see the Negroes marching and everywhere getting what they want. I found that they grossly exaggerate the power and extent of Negro organizations. As one woman told me, "A Negro can go to the NAACP and get anything he wants." They see the Negro getting more votes, more jobs, and more power. The whites realize the Negro has gotten what he has through organization, (cont. p. 15)

POOR WHITES

(Cont. from p. 14)

but cannot extend the principle of organization to his own life. His prejudices keep him from joining the civil rights movement and his lack of confidence in himself, owing to his own poverty, prevents him from trying to go it alone. The whites are beginning to feel that they are the men on the bottom--the men left out of the Great Society. The white man acutely realizes that he's ignored whenever he can be ignored (the basis of forming an organization in this neighborhood centered around a lack of adequate police protection), and he knows he cannot get justice in the courts--or at least not a rich man's justice. He sees the Negro advancing socially and the country as a whole advancing technologically and economically while he, the poor white, stands still, or perhaps moves backwards.

What we, as organizers, must do is to go to these people and meet them where they are. I think this means meeting them on a segregated basis, although I don't think they must be left segregated. My observations seem to show that the poorer the poor are, the more they've been left out of the advance of society, the more their ideas have failed to advance. If we worked only with those poor who'd be willing to meet with Negroes, we'd find ourselves neglecting the lowest layer of the population--those that need our help the most. I sug-

gest we help them where they will accept help--help them fight their poverty--and use this as an opportunity to begin changing their attitudes around race. We must be willing to work with them until they are willing to choose integration. Before they can choose integration, they must understand what it is that the Negroes are demanding. In his isolation, the poor white cannot be expected to understand or accept the civil rights movement. He can only be expected to fight it. We must help him understand what is happening in the world that seems to be marching past him and prepare him for what is to come.

A CLOAK FOR RACISTS

(Cont. from p. 2)

recommend adequate legislation against their fellow red-necks. Weltner gave Johnson the feeble excuse he needed to defer the legislation. Now Weltner righteously points his finger at racist Maddox and disclaims him. But what has Weltner done to remedy Georgia's basic social and economic ills?

The rest of the country is hypocritical if it singles out Georgia as an isolated example of racism. Everywhere there are riots--in Watts, Chicago, and Cleveland--there are racist politicians who have refused to end the slum ghettos. One obvious example is the California elections where Bob Scheer, defeated radical candidate, has noted that the 'center liberalism' embraced by

(Cont. p. 20)

CANDIDATES BARRED

(Cont. from p. 5)

ever gathered in the community for anything!

On August 22 the petitions were filed. And on August 26, 25 minutes before the deadline, the Democratic Party filed its objections.

In four days they had checked 6,386 signatures for residence, registration and voting in the June primaries, and prepared a 58 page legal brief. Examination of the Democrats' research proved exciting. It showed that an even higher percentage of our signatures than we thought were valid.

Even if every signature challenged was thrown out we still had enough left. In addition there were a series of bullshit objections to our papers. Example: All candidates for public office in Illinois are required to file a loyalty oath whose wording is prescribed by the statutes. We did. The Democrats objected that we did not append a list of all the organizations of which our candidates claimed not to be members!

On August 30, the first day permitted by law, the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners met to solemnly deliberate over the objections to our petitions. The decision of the Board, composed of one Republican and two Democrats, was a forgone conclusion.

The Board listened passively

to the arguments of both sides and then adjourned without asking a single question. The next day the Board rendered its expected decision and ruled the Citizens Independent Party off the ballot. It was at this point that they made the mistake which may prove their ultimate undoing. With the arrogance characteristic of autocratic agencies everywhere, the Board imperiously refused to give any reasons or basis for its decision. We were simply off the ballot--period.

Press reaction was immediate. The editorial page of the "liberal" Chicago Sun-Times commented: "Sidney T. Holzman, chairman of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners, says the nominating papers of two independent candidates for the General Assembly were 'insufficient to comply with the law.'" He banned the candidates from the Nov. 8 ballot and said it is not the policy of the Board to elaborate on the explanation for its ruling. Since when?...In throwing out nominating petitions without an explanation, Holzman sets himself up as judge and jury operating in a star-chamber sessions. We have never been aware in the past that this is board policy and if it is it had better be changed right now."

The arch-conservative Chicago American went even further:

"Spokesmen for the board contend
(Continued on p. 17)

CANDIDATES BARRIED

(Cont. from p. 16)

that this 'policy' is based on law and on decisions of the state Supreme Court, and that the board doesn't account to anybody for its actions. If so, the board is unique among government bodies and is comparable only to the Central Intelligence Agency...We do not think the board can excuse itself from the whole governmental system of checks and balances, and take over the autocratic power of deciding who may run for office."

Why, you may ask, did the Democratic Party go to such trouble to keep us off the ballot? The answer is simple. Had we run in the Democratic primary, we would have done our bit bravely and been defeated. But running in the general election, by pulling only 10% of the vote we might throw the election to the Republicans, upsetting the whole applecart.

Did the Republican Party then come to our aid? Of course not. The Republicans and Democrats have a gentleman's agreement: no third slates, left or right. And oddly enough, the Board of Election Commissioners was absolutely right in its contention that it is answerable to no one. In a "white paper" prepared by CIPA staff member Dick Fried (on loan from Princeton SDS) we outlined the Illinois Supreme Court decisions in

which the court refused to let election boards and attempts to force having to issue written decisions! The system is beautifully rounded out by the fact the Prohibition and Socialist Left parties have run in Illinois 15 years. In fact, any party announced to get less than 0.1% of the vote can have free access to the ballot--that's Democracy.

APTHEKER FOR CONGRESS

By Lynn Waller

"Dr. Herbert Aptheker, a leading theoretician of the Communist party in the United States, formally entered the race for Representative from Brooklyn's 12th Congressional District" the New York Times reported September 21, 1966. The Times went on to say that while only 3,000 signatures are necessary for an independent to place his name on the ballot, the petition Dr. Aptheker filed bore 8,719 signatures. Dr. Aptheker filed as the candidate of the "Peace and Freedom Party." His opponent is the 12th district's incumbent Representative Edna Kelly, Democrat-Liberal.

It is interesting that Dr. Aptheker, director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies was denied the right to speak at the University of North Carolina last March. At least this last development in Dr. Aptheker's career shows that there is some freedom somewhere in America.

IDEOLOGY

(cont. from p. 3)

1. An ideology will counter-act the tendency of many intellectuals and activists on the Left to treat issues as though they existed theoretically and tactically in vacuums. Issues such as poverty and foreign policy are related. The nature of those relations must be clarified and the face of America's political economy explored and mapped in order for any far-reaching attack to be launched on fundamental social evils.

2. Our limited actions, aversions, and moods are derived from certain assumptions about man and society. It is intellectual sloth not to make those assumptions as coherent and explicit as possible. It is gross irresponsibility to act continually on the basis of mood and aversion alone.

3. Previously, radical organizing and theory has concentrated predominantly on the poor, the people most grievously exploited by the existing system. Common sense and experience must tell us that new constituencies must be organized in order to achieve basic change. Where will they be found? In the unions, among white collar workers affected by automation, alienated professionals? What issues can they be organized around? How can new constituencies be meaningfully coalesced into a broadly-based political movement? These are questions unanswerable without

broader strategies that have been developed so far by the New Left.

4. Only by clarifying our own values and the nature of the social structures which could mediate these values can we have fruitful discourse with intellectuals of different political color. Only by confronting people with a passionate and convincing image of man as he can be in a more democratic and humane society, and by contrasting that man and that society with present reality, can we act as effective solvents on the many pervasive myths about our "best of possible worlds" - modern America.

Clearly the task I have outlined is immense, entailing no less than evolving philosophies, formulating "utopias," and developing strategies for a far-reaching political and cultural movement to transform program into reality. However, the undertaking of this task is a vital requisite for the New Left. The ideas and experience of SDS and SNCC are superb beginnings, but must be seen as only a start. For us ideology has not ended, but has barely begun, and this paper will carry results of that recognition in future issues.

TONIGHT →

SDS

209 Hanes Hall

7:30 p.m.

BEWARE!

New variety of
PLAGUE

Now pandemic and highly contagious

PØX

AMERICANA

Fatal to freedom and to self-determination.
Southeast Asia severely infected.
Dominican Republic in coma.
Brazil festering.

A CALL FOR FREEDOM

(cont. from p. 9)

that in loco parentis was fostering a herd mentality in the women, and all their housing rules should be done away with? 2) The alternative to bread and circus democracy is naked power. When the question of free speech is raised, censorship is applied. In our appeal for a student-faculty board the Chancellor gave us a flat NO, and refused to discuss alternatives.

Mr. Chancellor: your actions emasculate the University and betray our search for learning and our process of growing. You exercise the power and we have few sanctions. But the times are changing.

A CLOAK FOR RACISTS

(Cont. from p. 15)

Governor Brown has helped create the extreme right represented by Ronald Reagan. (New York Times Oct. 3, 1966). Throughout America it becomes obvious that so-called moderates are not facing the pervasive social and economic problems of the nation. They have only used 'moderation' to cloak their racism.

SDS REORGANIZED

(Cont. from p. 7)

of education and action. While this procedure has resulted in a number of successes, notably on the Speaker Ban issue and on the recent housing problem, we have failed to offer a general program of alternatives to the present sick society.

Following is a list of the new committees and their possible areas of concern. 1) Chapel Hill: segregation and discrimination in the sale and rental of housing; incorporation of the outcast poor of the Knolls Park-Lincoln area; white poverty; discrimination in employment; lack of housing codes and restrictions on slum lords. 2) Vietnam: The draft--alternatives and real alternatives to present policy in Vietnam; effects of war on domestic issues; McNamara's new draft policy (the real war on the poor); possible local actions against the war. 3) University: investigation and criticism of all forms of in loco parentis; the formation of an alternative plan for the University; education about and agitation for curriculum reform; relations of the university and the draft, war research and other corporate liberalized institutions. 4) Radical Education Project: This committee will be engaged in more general theoretical research, and will attempt to provide an overall interpretation of the areas covered by the other committees.

It is hoped that such committees will allow students to concentrate on concerns which are of importance to them and hence will encourage and allow personal commitment to both analysis and action. It is this element of commitment which is so lacking in American higher education and it is hoped that participation in SDS will allow the student to rise his intellectual and action orientations in a committed and passionate manner. We ask all who are interested in these areas to join us.

THE LEFT HEEL

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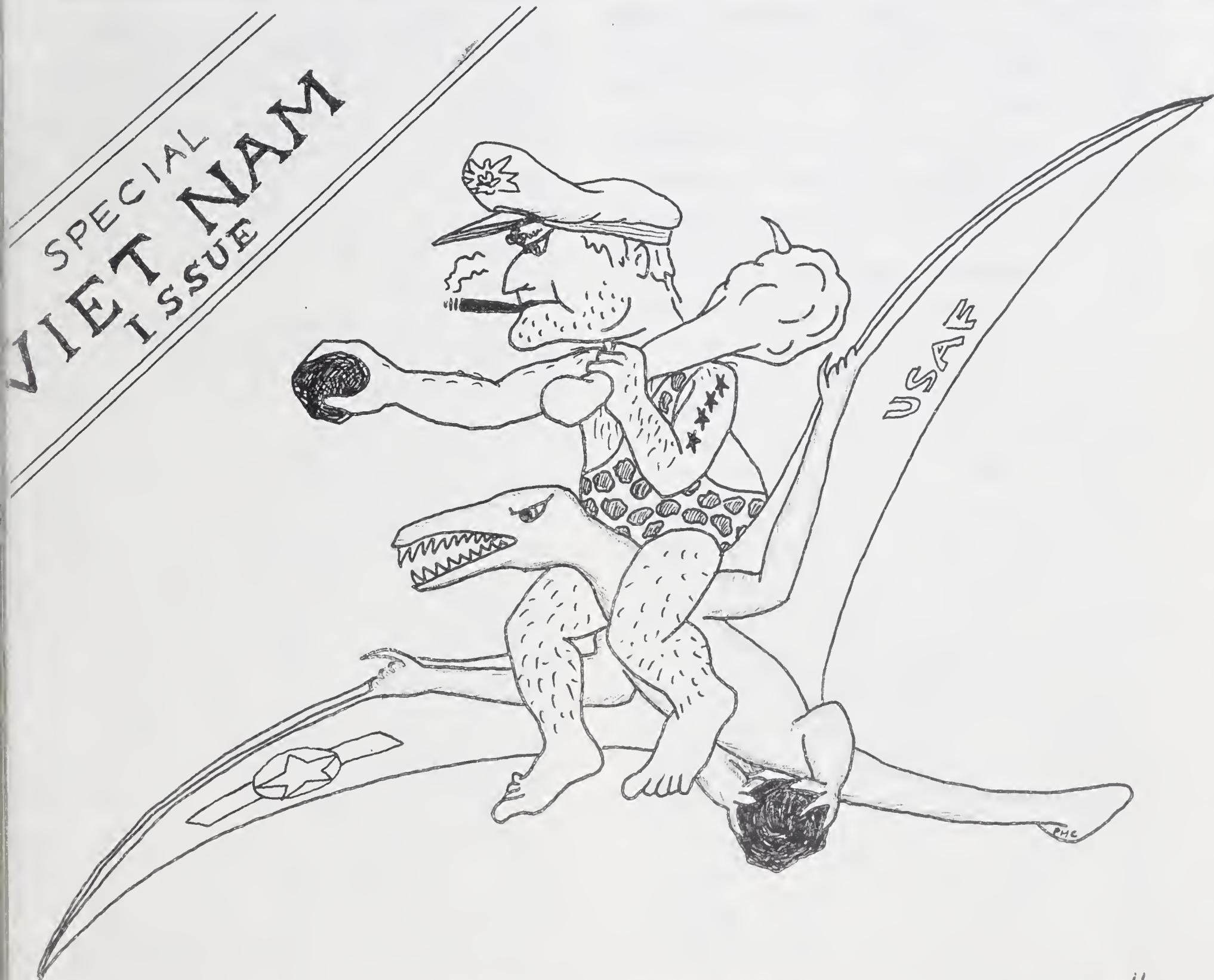
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CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

CO-EDITORS:

ANN SCHUNIOR
BRYDEN GORDON

VOLUME 1

NUMBER 3



"WE SHOULD BOMB NORTH VIETNAM BACK TO THE STONE AGE"
Gen. Curtis LeMay

THE PLATONIC JOHNSON

"HE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE TROUBLE ABROAD IN ORDER THAT THE PEOPLE MAY CONTINUE TO NEED A LEADER, AND IN ORDER THAT HIGH TAXATION MAY REDUCE THEM TO POVERTY AND FORCE THEM TO ATTEND TO EARNING THEIR LIVING RATHER THAN PLOTTING AGAINST HIM, AND IF HE SUSPECTS ANYONE OF HAVING IDEAS OF FREEDOM AND NOT SUBMITTING TO HIS RULE, HE WILL FIND AN EXCUSE TO GET RID OF THEM BY HANDING THEM OVER TO THE ENEMY.

--Plato, The Republic, on Tyranny.

The effect of the draft threat on student activism was noted in a recent conversation with Ed Hamlin of SSOC (Southern Student Organizing Committee--an off-spring of SDS and SNCC). Mr. Hamlin stated that because of this threat many field workers have gone back into college as students of teachers.

We may shortly find that if the draft pressure continues to intensify that radical organization of the poor will cease completely. But if student organizers must leave the poor, will they be left to their fate? No. President Johnson has plans for them also. The same war draft that takes the organizers away from the poor is going to take the poor away.

The recent lowering of mental standards for the draft requirements will take care of part of these people. In late August Mr. McNamara announced that these lowered standards would bring an additional 40,000 men into the services. He described this as part of Johnson's War on Poverty. He acknowledged that these people to be drafted were largely poor since their mental test scores were a reflection of their educational inadequacies. He stated

(with a straight face) that these men would benefit by the training programs available in the service. He observed that the U.S. military establishment operates the largest "educational" system in the world. This announcement was of particular interest to Negro Americans since it was later learned that 33 percent of these new draftees would be Negro--although they are 11 percent of the U.S. population. (It should be noted that draft age Negroes are of a slightly higher percentage.)

The most recent information on the fate of these 40,000 men comes from the New York Times (Sunday, Oct. 16, 1966).

"The services have received no supplementary funds to create special training programs or to enlarge their training cadres and thus none of the services is contemplating any change in its current training structure. Officers believe most of the men will end up in the more rudimentary jobs. In the Army which will take the greatest number, this will mean the combat arms for the most part.

The "current training structure" in the services places recruits according to GCT scores--a basic

(continued, p. 11)

The University and the Draft

By Gary Waller

PART I--The domestic consequences of the War in Vietnam are being felt in many places. Numerous social welfare projects have been cut, the despicable HUAC gains new life, a dangerous dehumanizing barbarism has gained extensive roots in the hearts of our people--e.g., "Southeast Asians don't value life, so it doesn't matter what we do," and on and on ad nauseum.

In another article in this edition of The Left Heel, Jerry Carr points out that the draft functions as a social control device, taking poor and troublesome Negroes off the street and pushing radical and troublesome students back into the academy. Thus, the War on Poverty becomes a War on the Poor.

Equally disturbing is the new role of the university in the war effort. While the recent lowering of standards for military services is a transparent means of reducing the pressure for drafting good, clean, white college students, the university still operates as an adjunct to the War Department. We have all become aware that the university has been slowly transformed into a "personnel office" for the private and public bureaucracies. But now, with the creation of student rankings for the draft, a new dimension has been added to the University's role as a personnel office. Now, the university has become intimately and directly involved in the procurement of cannon fodder--in-

stead of university performance deciding initial occupational level, it now determines life expectancy.

There are many problems with the university's complicity in the draft apparatus. But we want to focus on one or two aspects, namely--the student-teacher relationship and the general question of the nature of university education.

Let us begin with the more specific human, and therefore moral, problem. What happens to the student-teacher relationship when both know that the measurable outcome of this relationship --grades--may determine whether the student may live or die, kill or be killed.

First examine the teacher's dilemma. Let us assume, for the discussion, that the teacher is just that--a man who takes the challenge of teaching seriously. Such a teacher has little use for grades, knowing that they are false measures of personal worth, knowledge and ability. He knows that intellectual development flourishes through free personal interaction and free intellectual meandering; he knows that grades, by creating an arbitrary judgment day on those processes, necessarily severely constricts the freeness of the relationship and the freeness of the mind. But, he has learned to put up with grades and attempts as best he can to get on with demonstrating (a better word

(continued, p.9)

Finding the PIECES to the NEGOTIATION PUZZLE

By Chuck Shunior

A close re-examination of the Johnson administration's touted efforts to secure meaningful negotiations of the war on Vietnam has led me to suspect that the curious phrase "peace offensive" is an ingenious double-entendre. The prime casualty of our diplomacy over the past three years has been the possibility of peace.

The diplomatic pattern which has evolved since 1963 strongly suggests that while our various "negotiation efforts" have marked turning points in our official rhetoric, our official policy has remained one of a consistent escalation and expansion of the war, which uses diplomacy only as a smoke-screen. The nature of this pattern may also help explain why Hanoi and the National Liberation Front have not met with avidity our more recent peace proposals.

Space does not permit a complete summary of the politics of escalation and negotiation since 1963; a few prime examples will have to suffice. (Those interested in a fuller summary plus further speculations by the author are invited to hear the complete paper read and discussed this evening at 7:30 in 209 Hanes Hall).

A highly significant phase of the war was initiated by the U.S. by beginning, on Feb. 7, 1965, the continuing and systematic bombing of North Vietnam. As was true of our previous escalations, this occurred not in response to ex-

panded enemy activity but in response to escalated efforts at negotiation by international parties and a disintegrating political situation in Saigon. The date of the bombing attacks came at precisely the time when Premier Kosygin was in Hanoi, reputedly with intentions of mediating a negotiated end to the war. Earlier Ho Chi Minh had notified France of his desire to discuss a settlement with the U.S., and in early February, with North Vietnamese assent, DeGaulle requested a reconvening of the Geneva Assembly to settle the problem. There were indications that U.S. withdrawal would not be a prior condition to the talks, but the proposal received no interested reply from the U.S. (Peace in Vietnam, AFSC, p. 51). In Saigon, the pattern was again familiar. Widespread discontent against the Saigon government and the American presence took the form of general strikes in Hue on Jan. 7, and in Danang a week later. On January 17, police fired on demonstrators in Hue and Dalat. Days later police and paratroopers violently dispersed a crowd of 5,000 Buddhist demonstrators in Saigon. (Politics of Escalation, Schurmann, p. 45). In the wake of this discontent, the Huong civilian government was overthrown by a military junta headed by Gen. Nguyen Khanh. Unrest continued, with evidence of deep splits withi

the junta and repeated rumors of negotiations. Against this background the U.S. began the first extensive and continued bombing of North Vietnam, using as a rationale the attack on Pleiku. As flimsy as this rationale was in itself, it must be dismissed beyond credulity by the fact that planes, loaded with bombs, were winging north less than twelve hours after the attack, and must clearly have been poised for attack, awaiting a convenient excuse.

After Feb. 7, the war began to escalate drastically, but on April 7, 1965, President Johnson changed rhetoric in mid-stream with his "unconditional negotiations" speech of April 7. This supposedly served notice to the world that the U.S. was sincerely seeking a political end to the war, and that if fighting continued it would be due only to the enemy's unwillingness to talk. This comfortable vision conveniently neglected a number of complicating elements. First, there had been a number of proposals for Geneva-style unconditional discussions emerging from de Gaulle, U Thant, and Premier Kosygin in late February. These proposals were rejected by the U.S. in word and deed. Later in March, the Hanoi government had given indications of being willing to enter negotiations on the conditions of an end to escalation and a commitment of ultimate withdrawal. (This was significantly in opposition to the Chinese position of insistence on immediate withdrawal

as precondition to talks, but the Johnson administration rejected the advances. In effect, the Hanoi proposals were rejected in Johnson's April 7 "unconditional negotiations" speech, which did, in fact, pose a number of prior conditions to negotiations, such as recognition of the political sovereignty of South Vietnam (in opposition to the Geneva Accords) and non-recognition of the NLF. The possibility of deescalation was fervently dismissed. Further, though it was not widely-known in this country, immediately following the April 7 speech a number of particularly severe raids were taken against the North, and were claimed by Russia and N. Vietnam as proof of Washington's insincerity. (New York Times, May 15).

This diplomatic pattern has remained dismally similar up to the present time. Although our negotiations rhetoric has become more moderate, and seemingly our position is not now highly divergent from Hanoi's Four Points of 1965, the military background to these negotiation proposals is always one of constantly intensified conflict. The latest proposals by Ambassador Goldberg are only the latest of a long list of cases in point. Coming in the face of increased hostility to the administration's foreign policy in this country and overseas it implied a significant moderation of our position. However, the
(continued, p.10)

The New Rome

TAKEN FROM THE FRENCH NEWSPAPER LE MONDE
TRANSLATED BY RICK DONER

PART I--"The world is becoming unified, that is to say, it's becoming Americanized." The evolution of contemporary society has strikingly confirmed this judgment made by Upton Sinclair in 1917. It isn't only in the "Atlantic" countries that the tastes, the habits, and the languages have their inspiration in models that are "MADE IN USA," or that American capital is massively invested in economies which identify this investment by billboards ranging from Coca Cola to the major oil companies and makes one forget the existence of national borders. In the "third world," everything western is clothed in American traits, and the population in many European socialist countries shows every day a liking for the civilization of the "blue jean" and the "shake."

The progression of this political influence goes hand in hand with that of the mores and economic implantation. In Latin America, the last guerillas, completely deserted by Moscow, number no more than a couple of hundred. Nkrumah and Sukarno, principal champions of anti-imperialism, have bitten the dust. The extremist rebellion is just about finished in the Congo. Guineau and Mali, considered formerly as the footholds of the communist movement in Africa have now gotten friendly with King Feysal, Nasser's rival

who has Washington's blessings. The thrones of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran which seemed built on sand have strengthened themselves while the R.A.U., exhausted by the Yemen War, seems far from realizing its dreams of Arab unity and destruction of Zionism. India, long a critic of the U.S., is only too happy to know that America is there to contain Chinese power. The "cultural revolution" and the predominance of military power that China seems to possess have greatly slowed down the evolution toward neutralism that observers were beginning to feel in Tokyo. South Korea does not hesitate to send thirty thousand men to Vietnam.

As for the USSR, she is showing total prudence, and it's difficult to believe that four years ago at this time she was on the point of engaging the U.S. in the greatest and perhaps the last show of force of the cold war. The signing of the FIAT contract suffices to show in what direction she is directing her efforts henceforth, and everyone realizes that if the Vietnam war wasn't going on, she would develop still more her relations with Washington in every area.

The New Class Struggle

Those who prefer peace to armed confrontation and political liberty to totalitarianism could only rejoice if the progressive affirm-

ation of American preponderance was really aiming, after having preserved them, to affirm peace and liberty. Unfortunately, this is not close to being certain.

First of all, it's trite to underline that the continued prosperity of the U.S. and of the countries living in their "spheres of prosperity," (to speak like the Japanese used to,) goes hand in hand with the impoverishment of the majority of the "third world" nations, including those who have alliances with Washington and whom one couldn't call "developing countries" without being a hypocrite.

As long as the price of raw materials is not stabilized, as long as the possibility isn't given to these nations to devote sufficient interior and exterior resources to investment, as long as their population is not slowed down, they are doomed, by the laws of supply and demand, to impoverishment.

The diagnosis of Marx, with respect to class relations, has not been confirmed by the evolution of developed western societies, but a great miracle would be necessary to stop this diagnosis from applying to the relations between the new exploiting classes which are the developed nations and the peoples. The suppliers of labor and raw materials, those countries are condemned to seeing the meager profits of their exports swallowed up in the satisfaction of very elementary consumer needs.

Kennedy wasn't the only president of the U.S. to see the prob-

lem. But the will of one man, as powerful as it may be, can't do much against the enormous forces which are interested in making sure that, from one Pole to the other, nothing changes. The various avatars of the Alliance for Progress are all that's necessary to prove this in Latin America.

This isn't to say that certain countries, of limited dimension but disposing of important resources or a well placed port cannot reach the take-off stage and enter, in the steps of the rich nations, an economy of abundance. However, at best, hope remains limited, at least as long as there is no force capable of seriously questioning anew social structures which are as anti-economic as they are inhuman.

But now one is forced to observe that in order to maintain their privileges, those who profit from these structures restrain political liberty as much as is necessary. In Latin America, you can count on your fingers the countries who can prevail against these forces. In Africa and in Asia, with a few remarkable exceptions like Japan, Lebanon, Israel, and Senegal, the States who espouse Western ideals are not that much freer, from a formal democratic point of view, than those nations living under Marxist-Leninist ideology. Now, it's a fact that the growing affirmation of American force is resulting in a consolidation of powers which are more or less dictatorial.

[Continued in next issue.]

NEXT DOOR to VIETNAM

By William John Barclay, Jr.

For those who are still confused about how we got into Vietnam in the first place (i.e., those who still want to believe some of the Johnson administration's statements), it might be instructive to examine what is presently occurring in Thailand. The process seems disappointingly similar. For several years insurgent forces have been in the northern part of Thailand, and for several years the U.S. has been providing "technical assistance" and "advisors" to combat this revolution. In the recent Congressional hearings, administration officials finally admitted that we now have around 30,000 troops in Thailand. As a reference point, we had only 23,000 troops in South Vietnam on Jan. 1, 1965, just before the bombing of the north, and the troop build-up in the south. Senator Fulbright has estimated that economic and military aid and base construction costs in Thailand are well over a billion dollars. Meanwhile, government officials have been extremely reluctant to testify in public about the entire operation. It appears again that Congress will be presented with a fait accompli instead of being allowed to make a basic decision on war or peace. The supposed justification for this insane course is the SEATO Treaty and the need to help the Thai government suppress the insurrection. (This despite the State Department's statement that the Thai's are "determined to handle this themselves.") Looking back at the ratification of the SEATO Treaty, it is interesting

to recall John Foster Dulles' answer to a question concerning what our responsibility would be if there were a revolutionary movement in Vietnam or Thailand. Dulles replied, "if there is a revolutionary movement...we have no undertaking to put it down; all we have is undertaking to consult what to do about it." Unanimity with our SEATO allies was required and consultation with Congress and the American People. "Obviously," Fulbright said, "we have not sent 25 or 30,000 men and hundreds of planes to Thailand, and obviously we are not building multi-million dollar bases capable of handling the largest strategic bombers in order to meet a threat arising from "hundreds" of insurgents. The Thais themselves should be able to handle a military threat of such dimensions. Thailand's armed forces total 130,000 men--an army of about 85,000; a navy of 25,000 and an air force of 20,000--and their defense budget for 1965-66 was over \$90 million."

Why have we sent 25 or 30,000 men and hundreds of planes to Thailand? The conservative columnist, Richard Wilson, who recently returned from Thailand, suggests a possible answer. In his column in the Washington Star, Sept. 28, 1966, he stated, "... The Senate should know, if it does not already, that the buildup in Thailand far exceeds the requirement of fending off the few hundred hard-core Communist in-

surrectionists in the North. The Thailand buildup is aimed at China."

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE DRAFT

(continued from page 3)

than teaching) the pleasures to be gained from active and creative use of the mind.

Now let us inject into this already incumbered situation the added dimension of ranking students for the draft. The professor suddenly finds that not only is he being asked to grade students so that outside bureaucracies can determine the value of his students, in addition, he is now being asked to help make the decision of which of the young people before him are to become killers or be killed, and which are to live. The professor has been progressively demoted from the sacred job of tutoring the young to society personnel officer, to War Department lackey engaged in the process of recruiting cannoners and cannon fodder--from the community of scholars to the community of armed services recruiting officers.

What are the responses open to the professor? He can refuse to give grades, and lose his job to those who will. He can give all his students good grades and punish the students of other professors. He can anesthetize his own moral conscience and go on

with "business as usual." He can be in favor of the war and feel patriotic. Or, he can grade as fairly as possible, remain aware of his complicity, and suffer because of it. No matter which is done, except for the fourth alternative, the professor can no longer function as he once did. He is now considerably less than he would want to be and one side of the student-teacher relationship has withered.

Now, the student side. The student has always known the importance of grades, and both the good and the bad have felt the burden. Perhaps, here, as perhaps always, only the mediocre may escape the burden of grades. The student, through years of practice, has learned some techniques for manipulating teachers. He had to as a matter of survival as long as judgment day fell every semester and with his future riding on the spare symbolism of the alphabet. The student knows these techniques are alienating--they alienate him from his teacher and from the full development of his own talents. But, he didn't create the system and he does have to survive. Now, for him as for the teacher, a new dimension is added. Not only will his grades determine much of his material future, they now determine if he is even to have a future. His life is now at issue. And in the face of this, the hell with the community of scholars; it's every man

for himself. Techniques of teacher manipulation are improved and his old repertoire is expanded. Fellow students are no longer friendly rivals, they are mortal enemies, fighting for life sustaining grades.

The student-teacher relationship has now devolved into a situation of a judge, suffering in various degrees from his conscience, and a defendant willing to purge himself in order to save himself. Exit any meaningful student-teacher relationship. Exit any real meaning of learning. Exit any real maning of the university. Enter, stage right, an Ape pulling Einstein on a leash.

[TO BE CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE.]

FINDING PIECES TO THE NEGOTIATION PUZZLE, (continued from page 5)

statements by Sec. McNamara of the same day told a much different story. McNamara announced a 30% increase in production of warplanes for the next fiscal year and an increase in troops to possibly 425,000 by next spring, and a supplemental defense appropriation of between \$10 and \$12 billion (New Republic, October 15). It is a strange paradox that as our diplomacy moves closer to Hanoi, so do our warplanes.

After reviewing the patterns of negotiation of the last three years one might hastily assume that our government's "peace talk" is a pack of lies. Paul Goodman,

though, in his interesting article in the current N.Y. Review of Books, objects to using the word "lying" to describe the public statements of the Johnson administration. Not that the word isn't empirically accurate, but another simply is more descriptive: "magic-thinking"; that is, a style of thought which keeps a deceptive and illusory image buoyed up before us while the facts of the particular issue remain only as mute, offstage understudies. It is true that a morality-play dream seems to haunt the speeches of Johnson and Rusk, always raising up before them the image of the U.S. as a huge Ajax White Knight setting all things right, all things white. They may honestly believe that we are open to unconditional discussions at the same time that our military policies make those same discussions impossible. However, my present interest was in presenting some facts behind that vision rather than it's psychology. An article in the next issue of The Left Heel will speculate on the nature of Johnson's morality play and the reasons why so much of the world has been conscripted into its cast.

* * *

THE PLATONIC JOHNSON
vocabulary-I.Q. test. If re-
ruits score well they may
be assigned to a training school.
The better schools (i.e., six
months long) require the ex-
tension of service over two years
i.e., with two additional years).
It is obvious that without exten-
sive schooling almost all of the
10,000 men previously draft-ex-
empt due to poor exam scores will
not score any differently on the
CT exams and will therefore not
receive any schooling--certainly
nothing that will have civilian
application.

And what about the dispro-
portionate numbers of Negroes
killed in combat as rifle men?
From the Times (same article)
it is learned that "of all Army
enlisted men killed in Vietnam
during 1965, 23.5 per cent were
Negroes." Next year with John-
son's escalated War on Poverty
in effect the proportion should
be considerably higher.

* * *

Vietnam Casualties

36,681

(Pentagon Release)

SDS

tonight - 7:30

209 Hanes

Chuck Schunior's
working paper on

VIETNAM

WANTED

AN OFFICE FOR SDS

We need a room where we can
keep our pickets, work on The Left
Heel, store and read our literature.

Must be near campus and cheap...
preferably free.

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* * *

Catch-22

"There was only one catch and that
was Catch-22, which specified that
a concern for one's own safety in
the face of dangers that were real
and immediate was the process of a
rational mind. Orr was crazy and
could be grounded. All he had to do
was ask; and as soon as he did, he
would no longer be crazy and would
have to fly more missions. Orr
would be crazy to fly more missions
and sane if he didn't, but if he
was sane he had to fly them. If he
flew them he was crazy and didn't
have to; but if he didn't want to
he was sane and had to."--Joseph Heller

TWO CLASSICS AT THE FREE FLICKS

Four of the five movies at the free flicks in the next two weeks are extraordinary; two of them are truly great.

November 4, Night of the Iguana, (1954). Outstanding here is Richard Burton's performance as a typical Tennessee Williams loser presiding fatalistically at his own demise. The photography and direction are unusually restrained for a film with such a high budget, and much of Williams' dialogue has been retained.

November 5, Saturday Night and Sunday Morning (1961). Photographed by Freddie Francis and directed by Karel Reisz, and with Albert Finney who portrays a young man in scattershot rebellion against a bleak, constricted future. You will recognize a few social protest cliches, but never mind; it is well worth seeing.

November 6, Throne of Blood (1957). This is the unexpected prize of the group. It is Akira Kurosawa's adaptation of Macbeth; next to The Seven Samurai it is his greatest film. Translating medieval Scotland to medieval Japan was relatively easy; there are enough similarities between the two societies. But in a Japanese film you drop the language, and Kurosawa wisely made no attempt to use a translation. To appreciate his problem, imagine Macbeth without the poetry: an ambitious mediocrity with a pushy wife, he gets in over his

head when he gives in to his dreams and is destroyed. Kurosawa's solution was tight, sprung development that produces the effect of a Greek tragedy. All movement--including camera movement and editing--is abrupt, sharp, hard-edged. There is much ceremonial movement from Isuzu Yamada, who plays Lady Macbeth (Asaji in the film), and Chieko Naniwa, who play the aged, androgynous spirit Kurosawa has substituted for the three witches. I learn from Donald Ritchie's book on Kurosawa that these are derived from Noh theater. They are limited to the women, who are here the principal instruments of evil. The men are war-like, swift, but painfully mortal. The opening sequence shows Macbeth and Banquo riding at full tilt in and out of a fog in a vast forest, while the sound track gives only the confused grunts of the war-lords and horses, and the roar of a hard rain. Other beautiful scenes are the killing of the king, a masterpiece in characterization through action, and the movement of Burnham Woods to Dunsinane, in which a whole forest hillside moves in slow motion through the fringe of a fog into the vision of the horrified Toshiro Mifune, who plays the raw, doomed Taketoki Washizu (Macbeth).

November 12, Citizen Kane (1941). An acknowledged classic--not to be missed.

William Matthews

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ANN SCHUNIOR
BRYDEN GORDON

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NUMBER

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THE NEW ROME

translated from LE MONDE by
RICK DONER

PART II - Three Me

In a general way, any power is exposed to the contradictory risks of stagnation and excess of change, and it's all the more in that it's absolute. To guard against these two perils, any country needs, if not a systematic opposition, at least another force which can, if necessary, contest its very own power. For the moment, there are hardly more than three nations, each incarnated by one man, which can contest American power: France of DeGaulle, China of Mao, and North Vietnam of Ho Chi Minh. But in Washington it is possible to dismiss this quite easily when the birth dates of these men are recalled with the observation that there are no examples where the loss of a great leader in a regime of personal power hasn't brought about a profound policy change; last example: Stalin. However, God only knows if he filtered out all hints of opposition.

Considerations of national income are also brought up which recall Stalin's view on the 'Pope's Divisions.' In spite of the fact that they have been wasted, the immense resources of the U.S. have permitted this country to catch up with its somewhat winded adversary in the space and armaments races. All the more reason that France and China have hardly a chance to ever balance American power.

Finally, one must observe the lack of success of the preaching of these heretics. DeGaulle's speech at Phon-Penn was hardly heard outside of France, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Peking completely ignored it. The gold star which Izvestia had given the speech would have been less discreetly shown if Moscow had been really satisfied. The countries menaced by an exterior enemy or by hunger well know that France isn't big enough to take the place of the U.S. in obtaining the assistance they need.

As for Mao, except for his own country, he's hardly a prophet any more. His radicalism and the lightness with which he evokes millions of conflict victims scares pacifists. The proletariats of the developed nations prefer their present fate to the one proposed to them by Peking; and in the developing countries of the 'third world,' there are many heads of state wondering if Mao's protests of ideological purity are not hiding, as it was for Stalinist Russia, a national pride which is radical and unbridled, and which seeks to recruit allies more than to promote general emancipation. After all, China has shown herself very capable of shutting her eyes to the wickedness of imperialism when it was in her own interest.

(Continued on page 10)

COMPUTER WITCH-HUNTS?

by Charles Gordon

Technology has made a number of inroads on the privacy and rights of the individual, the most blatant example being the fantastic development of electronic listening devices. These devices have progressed faster than the laws regarding their use, and the public has little protection from them. Technology, in the form of the computer, is about to make another attack on the individual and his right to mind his own business, and it appears that the protections available will be inadequate.

The computer in question will be the repository, it is proposed, for vast files of information on everyone, combining the files already existing with new information to be sought. This has been proposed within the government, and privately as well. The implications of such wide-ranging files need to be examined.

Computers are vastly expensive pieces of machinery, and it is obvious that the only organization which would have both the income and the inclination to support a national data file would be the government. Further, the people within the government who would have access to and control of such a file would be relatively irresponsible, since they would have to be selected on technical qualifications, rather than being elected.

Indeed, the files that already exist within the government are subject to abuse by officials. When these files are combined, the potential for abuse by officials is multiplied. Already there are security files, F.B.I. identification files, Social Security files, military service records, selective service files, and the census. If you add to this educational records, gathered from the state or school districts, credit records, gathered from the central credit bureaus that exist in many areas, and other information you have a complete dossier on most everyone.

The safeguards proposed to prevent misuse of these files seems fatuous. One article, for instance, lists the following "bill of

rights" for the use of the computer:

(1) No organization is allowed to maintain files that cover large numbers of individuals outside the system. (But if the government itself is maintaining the files, who is outside the system? If HUAC wanted the files, who could deny them access?)

(2) The rules governing access to the files are definite and well publicized, and the computer programs that enforce the rules are open to any interested party, such as the ACLU. (How many people know how to read a program? (Cont. p.11)

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE DRAFT

Part II

by Gary Haller

In the last issue we discussed the impossible burdens that ranking for the draft places on the teacher-student relationship. Now we must ask a more general question: Why did the university so readily accept this role? Why didn't the university rise up and say "NO! We will not make your decisions for you. This is a subversion of the University's function." To answer this question we must examine the changing image the university has of itself and the University's changing social function.

The University has been characterized by Kerr as a Knowledge factory, and by Riesman as a personnel office (although, admittedly, the former was being worshipful and the latter scornful). For Kerr the university is an organization whose aim is to turn out goods and services to the community, for business and government. They also include what Riesman was discussing, for one of the most important products of the university is its students.

The university acts as a socialization agency for society. One can argue that universities, and indeed all organized schooling, are simply institutions for socialization of the young. This is true in a rather gross sense. Now there are two aspects of socialization. One is to impart the

necessary skills and knowledge required of the adult. A second is to impart the proper forms of behavior--the proper forms of thinking, discipline, deference, and demeanor. The sad tragedy of the university is that this second aspect has become its prime interest in so far as its students are concerned.

A neat functional bifurcation is developing within the university. The needed knowledge and skills are being turned out by the graduate faculties and research teams. On the other hand, the necessary manpower to operate the great bureaucracies is being turned out by the undergraduate teaching faculties, and the prime characteristics of this function is not to impart special knowledge and special intellectual tools to the student, but to socialize him into a particular response pattern which makes him all the better cog for the bureaucracy. The reason that teaching appears to be de-emphasized especially in the bigger state schools--whereas in the smaller elite liberal arts schools it is still important precisely because the people who attend these schools are "safe"--is that there is little need to turn out really educated students. The system obtains its needed information from the research

institutes. But what the bureaucracies need are people who will fit into their system smoothly, and for this they turn to the senior class. Anyway, most bureaucracies retrain their new recruits. Hence what the society wants from its university is a steady stream of seniors who work for external rewards, are taught, both directly and indirectly, to never become committed, and who are quite capable of analyzing the 'facts' apart from their human meaning (more familiar to readers is the cliché of the value-free approach or of 'realism' in political science) and making 'decisions' on the basis of such analysis.

Those who are exposed to the freeing experience of genuine intellectual activity and development would be rather unfit for bureaucracies. So unfit, indeed, as to perhaps question the very necessity of such organizations. Equally dangerous would be to allow students a large amount of responsibility. Such a policy would destroy the mystery of being in a responsible position, a needed mystery and faith in any hierarchy; and it would also destroy student dependency on those special people in positions of leadership.

The university has become, in brief, a factory for the bureaucracies, turning out knowledge, services, and well socialized recruits. With this image of itself and its function, there is no basis for objecting to the added de-

mands of the selective service system. After all, the only justification for grades is their reputed utility in helping bureaucracies select their personnel. Why not simply extend this service to another bureaucracy?

And furthermore, we do have all those students who really aren't equipped for university life, who could be dangerous malcontents upon graduation, and who aren't going to be of much use to the bureaucracies. Why not draft them? They are, so to speak, expendable.

To required courses, rigid scheduling, external rewards (i.e., grades), and the whole apparatus of in loco parentis, we now simply add ranking students for the draft. This seems to further demonstrate the university's good faith to the sources of money and it also adds another lever for socializing students. The thought of the Draft operates to produce further decisiveness in the already decided, the underlining case, and even to rebel. In the latter case, the Draft keeps the rebel off the streets and/or campus, working on the basis of the university's goals, not his own.

One could rightly expect the educational establishment to tell General Hershey to make his own decisions and to claim the university is not in the business of providing raw material for the war machine. They could claim that the function of education was to broaden life, not to de-

terminate it. But when the university has ceased to be primarily engaged in education, is it any wonder that the university so readily genuflected before General Hershey and the Selective Service? It was so natural, and so 'responsible', and so profitable. From our feet planted firmly in the clouds to our noses imbedded firmly in.....

The foregoing was written before the Mike Paull affair on campus. Unfortunately the University's treatment of Mr. Paull lends greater credence to the foregoing article. The Paull case can not be understood as somehow an aberrant mistake on the part of the university. One wishes it could. It is, instead, a fairly logical deduction from the university's own image of itself and its role. Throughout the Speaker Ban crisis the university acted as if it were only a collection agency for state money and that it could not act in any way to endanger its holy budget. The university was not animated by any image of itself as the protector and progenator of ideal and values. If it had so conceived of itself it would have acted in a much more forthright and courageous manner in that crisis. It chose instead, as would any corporation or factory, to endeavor mightily to avoid offending those who were the source of mana. In that crisis the university was fighting for its identity as a reservoir of state tax money. The Paull case

is just an extension of that crisis and of that attitude on the part of the university. After the Speaker Ban the University realized that it had a poor image in the state, and has subsequently attempted to change its image. And what is the image that it wants to put forth?--the image of safety and of service. The university is attempting to demonstrate how important it is to the economy of the state. For proof only read Chancellor Sitterson's inaugural address. It is also attempting to prove that it is safe, that students can come here and not be effected at all by four years of university life. This safe image was projected in the Speaker Ban hearings. The university did not argue that there were leftists on campus and that there might even be a few communists and that this was to be expected at any decent university. They did not say "Yes, there are leftists on campus, so What?" No, they chose to say that the university is completely safe and free of such notions. The student government is also now engaged in the image making business, trying to show the people of the state that after all we are just good clean-cut kids up here on the Hill. Now, in the midst of this great drive to prove our utility and safety, enter one student teacher, one hysterical mother, one right-wing TV station and one scared knowledge factory. Result, a totalitarian response by the factory. It is not an aberrant mistake. It is logical, consistent; and it is damned scary to live in Babylon.

VIETNAM WELTANSCHAUUNG

Part I

by Chuck Schunior

In the last issue of Left Heel I presented evidence of a disturbing feature of America's Vietnam policy. That feature was a consistent pattern of war escalation, in response not to escalated enemy activity but to attempts by international parties to secure a negotiated end to the war, and in response to a disintegrating political situation in Saigon.

The weight of this evidence lends considerable doubt to the common view that the Vietnamese situation represents a diplomatic tangle from which Lyndon Johnson would love to extricate us if only he saw a straw to grasp at. In the last few years there has been a veritable deluge of straws, any one of which could have provided our policy-makers sufficient opportunity to design an "honorable" exit. Not one has been seized; they have all been rejected by word, silence, or deed. Nor have we passively responded to events in the manner of one groping for "outs." Our policy has followed an essentially undeviating line ever since the first American personnel entered Saigon in 1955.

The disillusioning events of the past few years put the crucial question right on the line for us: Our war on Vietnam is not an aberration but a natural aspect of our foreign policy. What, then, is the essen-

tial nature of that policy? Why are we in Vietnam? Obviously these are crucial questions, but there has been a terrible lack of response to them from the peace movement. For one thing, this war has been justifiably characterized as the most barbarous in history; its nature is so hideous and revolting that most of its opponents see no need for any theoretical underpinning for their protest. Furthermore, those of us who feel that responsible action against the war requires an understanding of the causes have been pretty much bewildered by the confusing tangle of contradictions, irrationality, and surrealistic rhetoric which are the faces of our foreign policy. Old categories of criticism seem somehow dated.

One of those old categories of criticism was the theory of imperialism. As stated by Lenin, its essential features were that the growing inability of monopoly capitalism to reinvest capital at home would lead it to the underdeveloped world in search of markets, raw materials, and cheap labor. The capitalists' need for the new colonies would lead to a system of military support for reactionary regimes bolstering the status quo of feudal societies. Modern descendants of Lenin have held that the main features of imperialism even today are present in the United States' policy toward the Third

World; only now they must be cloaked behind progressive rhetoric of commitment to national aspirations and by minor gestures such as the Alliance for Progress which is essentially imperialistic anyway.

While this theory presents a useful perspective it has to be qualified by a few objections. One of these objections is that in reality overseas capital represents only a very small amount of our total capital investment, approximately 5%, and only 2% in underdeveloped countries. At the same time, though, overseas investments contributed 11% of total profits, and the capital in underdeveloped nations contributes 8% of total profit, certainly no small amount.

It is further argued that our military and political interventions throughout the world occur in no rational relation to the amount of our investment. In the Dominican Republic our holdings were fairly negligible and until recently there was no American economic interest in Vietnam. In turn, defenders of the neo-imperialist theory respond with a "links in the chain" argument, holding that although the Dominican Republic may not have represented much in real terms, it was one of the links on a chain of economic enterprise which must be maintained intact at all costs. This, then, is the "domino theory", divested of its Cold War rhetoric. Empirically I think the domino theory is false; American capitalism can lose its hold over any single nation without losing that nation's

next-door neighbors. However, as a description of the world which is perceived by American policy-planners, I'm sure it's fairly accurate.

A further point to be made in defense of the theory of neo-imperialism is that regardless of the amount of foreign capital investment, the military establishment sucks up a massive amount of U.S. capital, and that military establishment requires Cold War imperialism for its maintenance and its raison d'être. This is a sound and important point, but it is a moot question as to whether a massive military establishment gives rise to imperialism or vice-versa. Their interrelationship is obscure, at least to me.

It is hard to know where to begin, but I think that a talk given recently by Prof. Dawson in defense of our Vietnam policy was highly instructive and helpful in enabling us to see what ideas allow good men like himself to support barbarism in the name of humanity. Briefly, it was suggested in this talk that our Southeast Asian policy aims to teach the Chinese to act like the Russians, who have already learned the rules of civilized power politics. Russia is fairly passive and acquiescent before our international power plays, like in Santo Domingo and Vietnam, and especially in Cuba, and we respect her for it. In return we recognize her problems and would not dream of intervening if she suppressed another Hungarian uprising. Russia accepts and respects the boundary lines of

Cold War, and her revolutionary rhetoric has become more ceremonial than sincere, much like our 4th of July bombast. China is like Russia used to be--a young product of revolution, flexing its new muscles. It has to learn the ropes and respect the boundaries. It must learn to keep docile the nations in the sphere of control. One of these boundaries, of course, is the 17th parallel between North and South Vietnam, and one of those countries in what we accept as China's sphere of influence is North Vietnam.

What Dawson and I are suggesting is that American policy-planners are employing in Southeast Asia a vocabulary of motives which was learned in the confrontation with Russia after World War II. We are transposing our picture of the political situation in post-war Europe to the modern revolutionary context of the Third World. And here, I feel, is where our contemporary foreign policy shatters its mythology against the granite of reality--and from this confrontation between myth and reality emerges the strange policy of Kafkaesque logic and Alice-in-Wonderland rhetoric which has characterized our foreign policy in recent years.

What vision lies behind our compulsive equating of 1945 Russia and 1965 China? Why can we see the struggles brewing in the 3rd World only in terms of the Cold War? Basically our vision is a very nice one. We look forward sincerely to

a family of nations held together by ties of common goals and concerns. In addition, every Vietnamese garage will have two cars and a Burma Road will probably be marked by the appropriate shaving cream advertisements. This vision we feel is approachable. Gradually China will learn to act like Russia, will learn to respect the necessary and sanctified boundaries. As her prosperity increases and her rhetoric becomes less revolutionary, the U.S. and China will gradually become more similar in styles of life and diplomacy. Then a detente will slowly emerge and the structures of the Cold War will eventually be dismantled.

This is a comfortable vision, but unfortunately has a handful of flaws--flaws so considerable that only our own brand of "hard-headed surrealism" could overlook them. I will attempt to examine those flaws in detail in the next issue of the Left Heel.

(Continued Next Week)

WHO SAID THIS?

"We see in Communism more now than before, the incarnation of human destructive forces...We therefore oppose any attempt at spreading Communism, wherever it may take place...We shall always and everywhere champion peace and freedom against aggression."

Adolph Hitler
Feb. 20, 1938

THE NEW ROME

When the French paratroopers intervened in Gabon in order to reestablish President Mba, Pravda lashed out against this neo-colonialism, but the People's Daily remained modestly silent. Today, as the times have changed, the opposite is true. Peking violently attacked French policy at Djibouti, seeing here the proof that French colonialism had not changed its nature, while the Russians showed the greatest understanding.

In these conditions, the risk exists that the U.S. may become more and more in our era what Rome was in the ancient world: the only true source of power capable of holding back at its borders the assaults of Vietnamese or Caribbean barbarians even to the point of destroying Chinese Carthage before it's too late, while Russia, incapable of vying with the U.S., for first place, is content to defend as well as possible an empire where one can already detect tell-tale signs of upheaval from Tirana to Bucarest.

Truly enough, the only contesting force which would be capable of limiting or of swaying this fantastic power would be that one which would have the power but not incite fear, a force which would be able to boast of a socio-economic success comparable to America's, and which could propose to the 'third world' relations better than those of the U.S., and which would live more according to the cultural, moral, and spiritual messages professed by the U.S. than the U.S. itself.

A united Europe alone can be this force, a Europe as open as possible in all directions, imposing enough so that Washington would have to consider its opinions, and independent enough to help resolve the great problems inherited from the 'cold war.' It is for many a heartrending revision of their basic principles: the unconditional 'Atlantic' spirit of some as well as the nationalism of others. But the day should come when, even in London, one will realize the disadvantage in leaving the direction of the world to one man, whether or not he's president of the U.S., and when in Paris one will understand that it is impossible to preach an independent Europe and at the same time claim for France alone the privileges in the club of the five great powers.

WHO SAID THIS?

'We are getting stronger every year and no one can stop us... Trust your President and do not waver... We have done everything for peace... Our alliances are firmer than ever and are the only bulwark against Communism... So long as the President and the nation are one, we are invincible.'

Herman Goering, to the
Nazi Arbeitfront,
September 10, 1938

How does knowing what the program does enable the individual to stop it from doing that to which he objects? How can you distinguish the program which calls up 'good' information from that which calls up 'bad' information?)

(3) An individual has the right to read his own file, to challenge certain kinds of information in it, and to impose restrictions on access to his file. (Who enforces that right? Who does he challenge about the information? How does he know that he has seen the complete file?)

(4) A record is kept of every use of the file, along with a record of the authorization for its use. (This is so you will know the license number of the truck after it has run over you).

(5) Deceitful access to the information will be both a criminal and civil wrong, and the injured party may sue for damage.

Even granting the assumption that the individual may restrict use of his file, there is a serious problem here. Suppose HUAC comes by and says, 'Give me your file.' Refusing access to the file will be like pleading the Fifth Amendment--that is, it will be taken as an admission of guilt. If you ask for a loan, but refuse access to your credit file, there would seem little chance of getting the money.

Equally important, the granting of the above assumption is not credible. Leaving the government to enforce these restrictions upon themselves is like leaving the

cat to guard the goldfish. The courts cannot prevent such abuse in the case of 'bugging' or other activities by the government, and there is no reason to expect them to do so in a case where the technical problems are many times more complex.

There is no question that such a file would be of great use to social scientists, and to efficient administration in areas where there is now an overlap of functions; but it would also be of too much use to such agencies as HUAC and the F.B.I. The proposed safeguards are inadequate, and the only real protection against such files is to insure that they do not exist.

POEM

Peter Nemenyi

Oh say can you see
That we're not quite so free,
From the Gulf to Wisconsin
With Lyndon B. Johnson.

From the West Coast to Maine
You can clamor in vain,
If you try to get action
To stop rights-infraction.

All the rockets are set,
Send the young men to Viet:
We're fighting for freedom
Except where we're at.

Oh say can you see
What's under the debris?
It's the Home of the Brave
And the Land of the Free.

WHO ME?

By Bryden Gordon

All UNC is up in arms
 With righteous indignation:
 Sound the Michael Paul alarm
 And seek his vindication!
 But listen now and listen well
 Though truth is hard to face:
 All of us have made this hell,
 Let freedom leave this place.
 It wasn't Lyle or Channel Five
 Or even Jesse Helms
 That killed our freedom never live;
 It started very long ago
 In small, unnoticed ways;
 Whose fault is it we let it grow
 And dominate our days?
 Take one small case—the women's rules
 That smack of "mama dears;"
 A vote on change shows coed fools
 Have "after midnight" fears.
 With leader's obligation
 Does not balk but implements
 Edicts of Administration.
 In the Goodykuntz dismissal,
 Who let the rumors fly,
 And swallowed that absurd epistle,
 The publish-perish lie?
 When we got the Speaker Ban,
 Everybody rioted,
 But with amendment and words of Dan,
 Everybody quieted.
 Then came the case of Michael Paul,
 And what did we demand?
 "Call upon the proper parent
 For the reprimand!"
 So here we are: we're no more free;
 We have not sense to fear;
 We watch with eyes that cannot see
 And ears that cannot hear.

MONDAY

7:30

HANES 207

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TONIGHT:

The Vietnam Committee will unveil its anti-war strategy for the rest of the year.

CORRECTION

The lead article in the last edition, 'The Platonic Johnson', was written by Jerry Carr and not Plato.

—The Editors

THE LEFTHEEL

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CO-EDITORS:

ANN SCHUNIOR

BRYDEN GORDON

VOLUME

NUMBER

IT'S FOR REAL

Local Board No. 63
U.S. Court House
South Park Row & State St.
Erie, Pa.

Gentlemen:

For some time now I have been receiving unsolicited mail from your office. You have sent me questionnaires that request information of such a personal nature as to be classified as indecent. You have made unheard of demands upon my person, requiring me to submit to a physical examination. Most recently you have pushed me to the limit of endurance by expecting me to prove my conscientiousness or face the consequences of indentured service in a dehumanizing machine of mass murder. I can no longer put up with your impertinence. Since I do not consider myself to be in any way obligated to your agency, and since I have more important matters to warrant my attention than answering inquiries from your office, I would appreciate if if you would immediately delete my name from your mailing list.

Yours in peace,
Robert Dewart

P.S. As I cannot consider myself a member of your despicable little club, I have destroyed those silly membership cards which you sent me.

LOVE ME I'M A LIBERAL

by Barbara Gunn

In his article 'Black Power' in the second issue of the Left Heel, William Cheek has done his part to loose the increasingly tenuous hold which the civil rights movement has over the much maligned 'white liberal.'

Cheeks describes the liberal as a symbol of the 'traditional paternalism which they themselves may have been practicing, but not totally aware of it.' There seems to him no advantage in 'utilizing' the white liberal. This unfortunate choice of terms is in a way indicative of the overall tone of 'Black Power' which would appear to be 'keep Marse Joe in his place--we don't mind the white man as long as he doesn't get too uppity.' The advocates of Black Power do not seem to recognize a number of very important aspects of white liberalism, and their refusal to do so is perilous to their cause.

The white liberal in this country is generally middle-class, generally intellectual, generally, whether he likes it or not, a symbol not only of 'paternalism,' but of the American Way of Life; his is the apple pie, two-car garage, solid citizen, attache case Utopia which the Negro aspires to occupy. From padded little television worlds where the kitchen gleams, all the way back to Dick and Jane and Spot and Puff, this type of existence glitters before the Amer-

ican Negro and typifies his frustrations. This is what he aims for, and in order to get it, he must integrate with people who have never left their womb of wonder, the 'white radical liberals. The liberal, it is true, is generally ignorant of suffering--he has not known frustration, hunger, anger, hate, from day to day. But it is important to realize that he wants to give it a try. He has made an intellectual decision; the gut-level commitment can be brought about only over a long period of deep involvement with the Negro cause, and intimate contact with the Negro himself. The Phil Ochs brand of liberal, 'ten degrees to the right of center when it affects him personally,' does not always wish to be so--he is willing to offer his services and his understanding, and is hopeful that his children will live in a fuller and more peaceful world than he has known. This willingness, this hope, should in themselves be sufficient to gain him a place in the Negro's struggles.

However, the advocates of Black Power do not seem to share this idea, and even more sadly, have forgotten the miracles performed by the liberal in the name of racial equality. To denigrate at this point, the work of Martin Luther King or of John Donne, is a pitiful travesty. (Continued on Page 10)

NO EXIT

by Bill Barclay

As the manpower demands of the armed services have mounted during the last year and a half so that we could successfully achieve a stalemate in our struggle for the American way of life (halfway around the world), resistance to the draft has escalated. Court cases have been fought on grounds ranging from traditional conscientious objection (based on the belief in a supreme being involving duties superior to those arising from human relationships) all the way to the plea of two Los Angeles Negroes that they were 'colonial subjects' of the U.S. and therefore ineligible for the draft. The courts, however, have not usually been sympathetic. The statement of a Chicago judge that he 'was careful not to consider the moral issues' sums up the attitude of the 'law' in most cases; (after all, only the losers are subject to Nuremberg trials). Due to lack of success in court or other reasons (such as opposition only to this war or merely a personal aversion to prison), many draft-age men have left the country, usually moving to Canada. Our extradition treaties with Canada do not include any offenses connected with the armed services, such as draft-dodging or desertion, nor any offenses which are in any way political, such as espionage or sedition. Furthermore, an offense can only be listed if it is a crime in Canada as well

as the United States, and Canada does not have a draft nor is it likely that one will be introduced any time soon. The Canadian government has encouraged immigrants for many years and of course the right to political asylum has been recognized by both the U.S. and Canada. Thus Canada has been a fairly safe place to seek freedom from involuntary servitude in the U.S. armed services. Both the U.S. State Department and the Selective Service had stated that they realize what is happening, but would not at present interfere.

It occurred to me that this attitude on the part of our government seemed somewhat out of character; also, I was interested in the procedure that was used to go to Canada. From the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), a Canadian organization which had announced its interest in helping U.S. men come to Canada, I obtained a copy of the pamphlet 'Coming to Canada?'. The first page told me that our government had lied to us again. This sheet had been attached to the pamphlet and had two typed messages, one dated October 26, 1966, and the other Oct. 28, 1966. The first statement said in part: 'Very recently it was brought to our attention that there has been some change in immigration policy towards Am-

(Cont'd Page 12)

VIETNAM WELTANSCHAUUNG

part II

by Chuck Schumier

In the last edition of the Left Heel I attempted to describe the Weltanschauung which seems to lie behind our foreign policy in Vietnam. Included in that world view, I suggested, was a belief that the U.S. faced in China today the same sort of threat which Russia represented after World War II. Basically, then, we feel that it is necessary to teach China to act like the Russians, who are now respectable members of the world community—respectable because they respect the Cold War boundaries and their revolutionary rhetoric is more ceremonial than sincere. Once China learns to behave like a 'respectable' Great Power, a détente will emerge and the structures of the Cold War will eventually be dismantled.

This is a comfortable vision, but as I mentioned, it has a number of flaws.

For one thing, the situation which Russia faced after World War II was not a revolutionary one. The countries of Europe were developed nations racked by the war and eager to return to the old structures and the old prosperity. The nations of Eastern Europe which are now parts of the Soviet Bloc were, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, already occupied by the Red Army after World War II. Their seizure was justified as the creation of

a necessary buffer between Russia and a militant West. Revolutionary ideology hardly entered the situation.

On the other hand, the underdeveloped world surrounding China is seething with revolution. Hungry revolutionaries will not wait for a great power détente in which social and economic problems can be worked out gradually in a sane, co-operative, and non-violent way. Furthermore, they will not learn from the Philippines and Malaya and Vietnam that revolution is impossible. People say that unless South Vietnam is preserved as a non-communist state, a whole slew of dominoes will fall behind it. Only a person who sees nations as dominoes can miss the fact that potential revolutionaries in these countries are far too desperate to pay much attention to the demands of international politics. Therefore, even if China, in the interests of the great Reconciliation with the West, wanted to, she would not be able to stem the tide of revolution surrounding her.

A further distinction which may be made between Europe in 1945 and the Third World today is that the centralized socialist apparatus which apparently was once a very real and effective instrument no longer exists in a comparable form. This is an obvious point to anyone who considers the dissolution within the Soviet Bloc, and of course

the violent Sino-Soviet rift. However, one game which America has always played in politics is 'find the outside agitator.' Its various forms include scapegoating the recent slum riots on SNCC, a rumor out of this university's administration last year that Gary Waller was receiving money from Berkeley during our free speech skirmish, and most importantly, a compulsive search for the Chinese organizer in the jungles of the Mekong Delta. However, social revolution is really not very easy to export: it hasn't successfully happened once that I know of. Even externally controlled political coups are no soft touch--in fact only the U.S. can be called a near-master of the art. The origins of social revolution are far deeper than the reading of Lenin, and no one can successfully urge revolution on a people where no revolutionary situation exists.

A further important objection to the American vision I described above is that our motives are not really as rosy as we usually make them out to be. The SAC motto, 'peace is our profession,' is not really consciously deceitful. We do want peace--it is only the kind of peace we want which can be questioned, for I believe that that peace is a Pax Americana. It will be a peace in which the American businessman will be free to find and create markets, and develop and use opportunities in the Third World without restraint by misguided nationalists. To ensure this peace, we would rather have demo-

crats in power, but we will accept a Franco, a Branco, or a Ky.

On the other hand, if a nationalist such as Castro or Arbenz should rise to power, we will again demonstrate that the U.S. has been the only successful exporter of political revolution in this century--and will justify our actions, if even made public, by the platitudes now spoken in defense of our Vietnamese policy.

Again, in summary, I feel that the theory of neo-imperialism is necessary but not sufficient to explain our Cold War policies. America is imperialistic--but that imperialism stems not from economic necessity but from policies derived from a particular world view. That world view is conditioned, but not completely determined, by American monopoly capital and the military establishment. It is further conditioned by a network of alliances and international organizations such as SEATO and OAS whose very existence lends credence to our Cold War Weltanschauung.

I now want to list a couple of footnotes, concerning first the incredible virulence of our violent interventions, and second, the enduring nature of the Cold War mentality, since what I've said so far is not adequate explanation.

It isn't the money-lust of the giant corporations which leads us to the heights of insanity in Vietnam, but our own perception of reality. We have (Cont'd p.8)

THE NEW AGE

...the quality of ... We are ... with ... the present ... is simply not ... enough. A return to a ... position is not an option. May I suggest ... we curtail to some degree the ... basic course which may be irrelevant and certainly is becoming ideologically restricting and adopt a new course. This new course assumes that the future into which we are moving requires such vast changes in our socio-economic system, in our value system, and in our categories of thought that to delay gathering knowledge and developing radically new thought patterns will be disastrous. Analysis and action with concentration on present ideological tools only delays this process. It must be stated that no one possesses this knowledge at the present. In this period of transition we are all starting from scratch. Thus we must first be aware of the problem and communicate the nature of the problem to others before we can even begin the process of gathering new knowledge. Direct action in the form of protest against the present system is beside the point; for we much develop new knowledge about the future rather than condemn the present

We are faced then with the alternatives of continued effort along similar lines and probable

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 of political revolution in this
 century--and will justify our ac-
 tions, is even made public, by
 the platitudes now spoken in de-
 fense of our Vietnamese policy.

Again, in summary, I feel that
 the theory of neo-imperialism is
 necessary but not sufficient to
 explain our Cold War policies.
 America is imperialistic--but
 that imperialism stems not from
 economic necessity but from poli-
 cies derived from a particular
 world view. That world view is
 conditioned, but not completely
 determined, by American monopoly
 capital and the military estab-
 lishment. It is further con-
 ditioned by a network of allian-
 ces and international organiza-
 tions such as SEATO and OAS whose
 very existence lends credence to
 our Cold War Weltanschauung.

I now want to list a couple
 of footnotes, concerning first
 the incredible virulence of our
 violent interventions, and sec-
 ond, the enduring nature of the
 Cold War mentality, since what
 I've said so far is not adequate
 explanation.

It isn't the money-lust of the
 giant corporations which leads us
 to the heights of insanity in
 Vietnam, but our own perception
 of reality. We have (Cont'd P.8)

THE NEW AGE

by Bill Coats

Present developments in contemporary society raise serious questions as to the adequacy of analysis and action of radical groups. We are faced at home with increasing racism and abroad with an increasingly complex involvement in Vietnam. The Poverty Program and urban renewal are faltering seriously. In addition we face an increasingly irrelevant educational system and the possibility of a dehumanized technological order. The usual response by radical groups is to expose these developments as products of capitalism, Western imperialism, or the apathy and conservatism of certain social and economic groups which have a direct interest in the status quo, in the University, nation, or world. Direct action is then recommended as a way of putting pressure on the backward forces in society which refuse to change. Much as this is to be applauded (and perhaps, to some extent, continued), we are confronted with the continual failure of this analysis and action save as a polemic (the years 1964-1965 in civil rights excepted). Indeed the increasing failure of this analysis and action is being matched in radical circles by despair and often hysteria.

We are faced then with the alternatives of continued effort along similar lines and probable

failure, (with moderate and conservative forces in society receiving more and more abuse and the possibility developing of a Devil-theory of history) or of saying that the present analysis and action is simply not radical enough. A return to a conservative or moderate position is not an option.

May I suggest that we curtail to some degree the present basic course which may be irrelevant and certainly is becoming ideologically restricting and adopt a new course.

This new course assumes that the future into which we are moving requires such vast changes in our socio-economic system, in our value system and in our categories of thought that to delay gathering knowledge and developing radically new thought patterns will be disastrous. Analysis and action with concentration on present ideological tools only delays this process. It must be stated that no one possesses this knowledge at the present. In this period of transition we are all starting from scratch. Thus we must first be aware of the problem and communicate the nature of the problem to others before we can even begin the process of gathering new knowledge. Direct action in the form of protest against the present system is beside the point; for we must develop new knowledge about the future rather than condemn the present

system and suggest alternatives based on equally outmoded categories. All ideological considerations which assume that the new knowledge will resemble socialism or participatory democracy or some ideal of human relations (based on past humanistic standards) is equally misled. The new age requires absolute openness.

The new cybernated age into which we are moving will be characterized by extensive leisure. How do we respond to this in view of our work-oriented culture? Whatever our answer, it is obvious that we must leapfrog the old capitalist-socialist categories, both of which depend on work. Our educational system, too, is obsolete for it is basically a training center for job-seekers. How do we educate for leisure and for meaningful activity? What happens to our economic system which when faced with this future may have to dispense with the money system altogether?

The impact of the computer on our common life is already staggering. The computer is a machine which involves instant knowledge and instant involvement. Yet our whole society is oriented around specialized knowledge emphasizing detachment. Can we produce the kind of leadership which is a generalist and not a specialist given our present educational system?

With our present unlimited ability to destroy the world with atomic weapons, we must understand that all war (whether wars of na-

tional liberation or wars to secure 'democracy') is unthinkable. Yet we do not now possess the understanding that this is so nor the international organizations to prevent war. Without these it is probably certain that there will be in the future a nuclear war. To protest the war in Vietnam is therefore partially misguided (not to mention hopeless). What is needed is a campaign to educate Americans in the danger of war and thus hope that this will bring about new categories of thought leading to control of arms and the end of war.

Our present educational system is oriented around disciplines. The future will require the creation of new knowledge through problem solving seminars. Disciplines will be obsolete as they now stand. How do we think when confronted with this kind of change?

Government in the future will probably be composed of a kind of elite, a small group of highly trained men working with information systems. They will not fit into the mold of the blind government bureaucrat or the evil capitalist. They will be under tremendous pressure to make decisions. What will be their information and how will they be able to act ethically? The modern business leader is in this predicament now.

The genetic revolution will also bring profound changes in our thinking. How does one think of values in terms of genetics? If we can biologically increase
(Continued on Page 11)

a vision of a mighty superstructure of giant powers buttressing each other up while history stands still and time erodes the differences between the great powers. If the stability of the status quo is threatened by even a tiny nation such as Vietnam, the whole structure is likely to collapse. This idea, plus our moralistic anti-communism, is what lends passion and ultimate commitment of a holy war to our reactions to even minor erosions of the status quo.

How can we possibly persist in construing the revolution in Vietnam as a battle between the forces of light, played by us, and the forces of darkness, played by China, in spite of all evidence that China has, even to the present day, played a minor role at best in the Vietnamese conflict? For one thing our perception of the Third World

and the categories of the Cold War thought that we impose on underdeveloped countries has put us in the business of making self-fulfilling prophecies. Our basic conservatism leads us to believe that somehow all social revolutions are instigated and agitated from without. In Asia, of course, the instigator is the ruffian China. The habitual pattern of power-bloc alignments leads us to feel that a country has only two real alternatives, us or the Reds. If the status quo which protects our interests is threatened by revolution, and Reds somehow are behind it, and if they're not, they should

be. Hence, when revolution broke out in Vietnam, it must be the Northern Communists who are responsible. With this preconceived idea, the merest evidence is proof enough, so Hanoi north with the bombs to force Hanoi to call off the revolution in the South, even though Hanoi never had more than minor influence over the NLF. After 1965, when the bombing of North Vietnam started, Hanoi was of course forced to take a more active role, and sent for the first time, battalions of troops south--the same battalions which we now point as justification for our bombing. Since bombing North Vietnam has had no perceptible affect on the war, the logic of our theory points us to China as the chief power of the East, and what follows is a given's guess.

A further reason why the U.S. is so anti-China is that China, herself, likes to play morality play very much, and recreates it in her public addresses, with the characters for good and evil reversed, of course. The crucial difference between China's play and ours is that we have the guns and power to conscript other people into the cast, while she does not.

SDS MONDAYS
7:30
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The new cybernated age into which we are moving will be characterized by extreme leisure. How do we respond to this in view of our work-oriented culture? Whatever our answer, it is obvious that we must leapfrog the old capitalist-socialist categories, both of which depend on work. Our educational system, too, is obsolete for it is basically a training center for job-seekers. How do we educate for leisure and for meaningful activity? What happens to our economic system which when faced with this future may have to dispense with the money system altogether?

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A further reason why the cold war mentality is so enduring is that China, herself, likes our morality play very much, and recreates it in her public addresses, with the characters for good and evil reversed, of course. The crucial difference between China's play and ours is that we have the guns and power to conscript other people into the cast, while she doesn't.

SORRY

We're sorry we missed an issue of the Left Heel, but our publishers at the YMCA and the off-set press haven't had time for us. ---Editors.

elections reflect **RISING OPPOSITION to WAR**

by Roy Felshin

Despite dire predictions earlier this fall that critics of the war in Vietnam would go down to crushing defeat in the 1966 Congressional elections, it was the 'hawks', rather than the 'doves,' who suffered crushing defeats on November 8.

In Oregon, Robert Duncan, an all-out supporter of President Johnson's Vietnam policy, was defeated by Mark Hatfield, an avowed critic of that policy. In Senate contest that Duncan himself had described as a 'referendum' on the war. Duncan continued to maintain this interpretation in a post-election interview, citing public 'dissatisfaction' with the war in Vietnam as the main reason for his Republican opponent's victory. (New York Times, November 10).

In two other races in which Vietnam policy was an issue, incumbent senators Clifford Case (R, New Jersey) and Thomas McIntyre (D, New Hampshire), who have been very mildly critical of the U.S. war effort, defeated two well-financed 'hawks'. Warren Wilentz (D) in New Jersey and General Harrison Thyng (R) in New Hampshire. In yet another Senate race, incumbent Paul Douglas (D, Illinois), a 'hawk', was upset by Republican Charles Percy, a 'dove.' At a news conference following his victory, Percy stated that the Vietnam problem would receive a 'great deal' of

his attention in Washington. (New York Times, November 10).

The leading Vietnam dissenters in the present U.S. Senate, Wayne Morse (D, Oregon), J. William Fulbright (D, Arkansas), Ernest Gruening (D, Alaska), and George McGovern (D, South Dakota), will not be up for re-election until 1968.

In the House of Representatives, where many incumbent Democrats lost their seats this year, all of the dozen or so leading critics of the war in Vietnam were re-elected. It was to this group that the Nation referred in its statement (October 10, 1966) that 'a flying wedge of dissenters is organizing to go into action as soon as the next Congress convenes.' Included in this 'flying wedge' of House Democrats are Don Edwards, Phillip Burton, Augustus Hawkins, George Brown, and Edward Roybal (all from California), William F. Ryan, Benjamin Rosenthal, and John Dow (New York), John Conyers (Michigan), Robert Kastenmeier (Wisconsin), and Donald Fraser (Minnesota).

An additional name came very close to being added to this list on November 8, when peace candidate Jerome Wilson (D) received 49.5% of the major-party vote against incumbent Theodore Kufnerman (R, New York), in the traditionally Republican Manhattan district formerly represented

icans, the extent of which we are not sure. But what we do know is explained below... Many Americans who have immigrated to Canada have entered as visitors, and then applied for work permits and landed immigrant status at the local immigration office. Traditionally this has been a courtesy only afforded to Americans. Now we find that Americans are treated as any other immigrants would be in relation to this matter. Therefore, although Americans may still apply for landed immigrant status in the above mentioned manner, the chances of getting landed immigrant status in this way are negligible.

'This means that prospective immigrants must apply via Ottawa while in the U.S., or be judged at the border. Since there have been several instances of people being quizzed as to their draft status at the border, it would be best to apply by mail to Ottawa. This is the longest (3 months), most tedious route which can be taken, but to the best of our knowledge, it is the surest way to gain landed immigrant status.'

'Confirmed' was written in ink beside this message. The Oct. 28 statement, which had 'not confirmed' written beside it, read as follows:

'We have just received the following information on immigration policy towards Americans applying from the U.S. It now appears that draft-age men may not be able to gain landed immi-

grant status any more. Not because they will be refused, but more because their applications will not be acted upon. We theorise there will be some sort of security check involving, among other things, draft status. In view of these facts it will only be possible for draft age American men to visit Canada for a six-month period." (During which time they would be subject to call by the U.S. Selective Service).

Thus, while the rhetoric is of freedom, strings are pulled and we become political prisoners - in our own country. As I read this, I felt a moment of pure panic, as if the walls were closing in and crushing me. That feeling passed, but I am haunted by a line from a song I once heard-

'But somehow it is strange
to hear the State Department say,
You are living in the Free World,
In the Free World you must stay.'

From the 'Ballad of William Worthy', by Phil Ochs.

VIETNAM
'LIGHT TO MODERATE'
CASUALTIES

42,134

Through Nov 19

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BRYDEN GORDON

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No 6

Whatever Happened
to
Uncle Sam?



cummings in l'aurore
(PARIS)



from pravda
(MOSCOW)



fresar in marcha
(MONTEVIDEO)

the University and the Draft: A Rebuttal

The following is a letter to Gary Waller from Dr. John Dixon in reply to Gary's article 'The University and the Draft.'

Nov. 9, 1966

Dear Gary:

You asked me to comment on your Left Heel article on the university and the draft. Since not all of the article has yet appeared, this comment may be a little premature, but I think there is already material at hand for making certain of the comments that I should like to make. I am afraid I am going to have at you again, this time taking a little different tack.

It is quite right to say that it is simply not true that I am deciding who is to become killers or to be killed and who is to live, since the chances are very, very good that even those who are drafted will never hear a shot fired in anger. This reflects itself again in your use of such terms as 'cannon fodder.' This has the rhetorical disadvantage of being a badly overworked cliché which may have had relevance to the First World War when generals marched men foolishly into the attack, using up lives to gain minimum territory. It wasn't even relevant in the Second World War, and it is still less relevant now. I spent four and a half years in the army during the Second World War under drastically different conditions and never heard a shot fired in anger and my experience is parallel to hundreds of thousands of others. Assuming, of course, that this does not go over into a nuclear conflict, the big problem most people face now when they get drafted is the brain-deadening monotony of the jobs they would get them-

selves into. Except for the comparatively small number of soldiers who actually appear in a combat zone, it is probably not that much more dangerous to be in the army than to ride on the Chapel Hill - Raleigh road on a football weekend. Thus you have badly weakened a very good case by this overstatement.

I appreciate the sympathy the article offers to my dilemma, but again it is overstated. I don't have the faintest intention of altering either my teaching or my grading methods one bit, and if the student-teacher relation withers it's going to be the students' responsibility and not mine. I might, as in fact I do, deeply resent the use made of my grades for non-academic purposes, but that's not going to change my teaching any more than the existence of grade now changes my teaching. If the student chooses to have his mind and purpose governed by the military and political bureaucracy in the fashion you describe in your final two paragraphs, that is his choice and not mine. I managed to retain some sort of separate intellectual life even while serving in the army and being subject to an assortment of sergeants and generals. If students here can so easily succumb to these pressures, then the chances are pretty good they weren't much as students to begin with. Thus I find your attack woefully imprecise and overstated in a situation where precision of definition is of the very essence of the common task.

It all, I suppose, comes back to the justice of the war. Granting a just war, I know of no better device than a draft to provide the country with the military services that it must have. No one has yet devised a system of drafting that will not be unjust at a good

many points. The best that can be hoped for is one that keeps the injustices reasonably spread out. Even the best of such systems is going to be subject to abuses of one kind or another because it is managed by human beings. I oppose exempting college students, other than for brief periods of time to let them finish out coherent bodies of study. At the same time it is a perfectly intelligible argument to say that the country needs trained and educated people in particular spots. Either way is unsatisfactory. So the problem comes right back to the question of the justice of the war. If the war is unjust, so is the draft. If the war is just, the draft, for all its imperfections, is the best instrument we've got.

Going even behind this is the problem of determining what all the noise is about. It's perfectly clear to me what SDS is against, but I haven't the faintest idea what SDS is for and until this is determined, then these passionate statements are not going to help very much. The world has always and in all places been to one degree or another in a mess, and so far as I know it always will be in a mess because the world is made of human beings, and I confess that I cannot get particularly excited because this deplorable fact is now being discovered. It was, I must say, a traumatic experience for me and presumably for those who passed through the same stage, but I don't find any specially distinguished degree of suffering among the young people of today which would enable them to make so vast a claim to virtue and wisdom simply because they have discovered what condition the world is in.

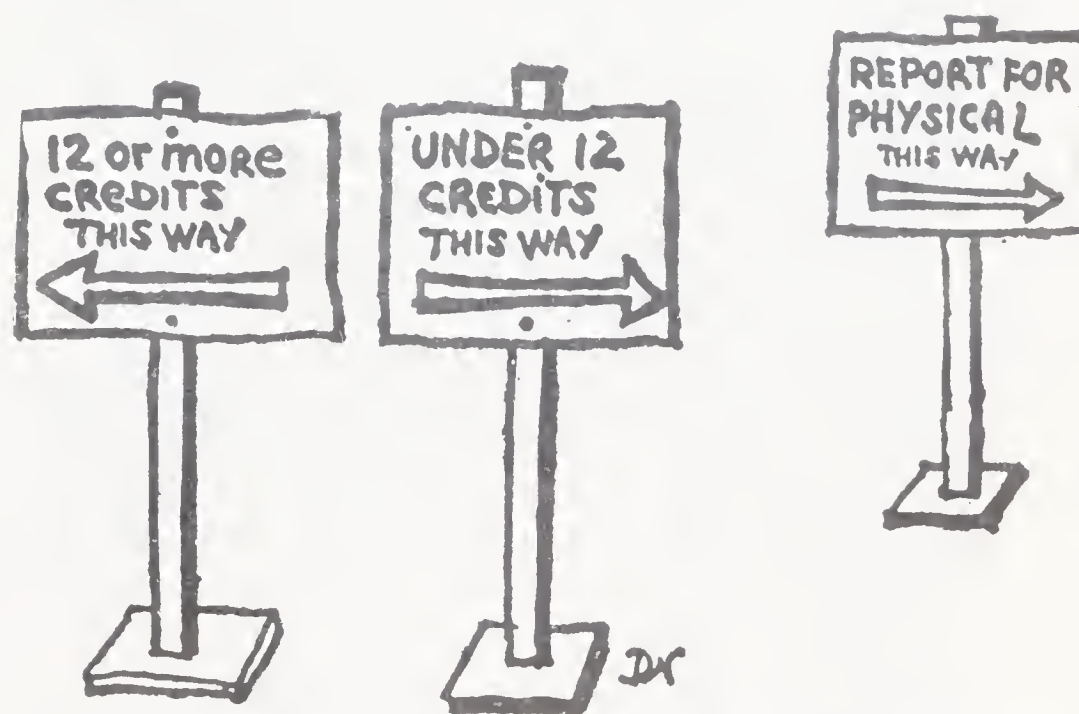
I suppose revolutions have been conducted on the basis of negatives, but very few successful revolutions have

been achieved on the basis of negatives. Would it not be possible to devote a little more of the attention of SDS to the statement of what is (1) desirable and (2) given the nature of things, what is achievable of those things which are desirable. This is a problem which does not lend itself to such extravagant prose but does in fact require planning. As a matter of fact, I think I could find myself interested in joining that particular search.

As usual, if you would like, have at me again in response to this. I really do believe in democracy and I don't pull rank. With all best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

John W. Dixon, Jr



DC in The Paper, East Lansing, Michig
Draft cards

Vol. 1, No. 6

WALLER REPLIES

In your letter you state that: "It is quite right to say that it is simply not true that I am deciding who is to become killers or to be killed and who is to live, since the chances are very, very good that even those who are drafted will never hear a shot fired in anger." Recently we had a discussion in Y-Court when the X015 was bedded down there. At that time you objected to our sign which read "Stop the Genocide." I pointed out at the time that whether or not we professed a policy of genocide, as the Germans had, the fact was that we were killing between 4 to 10 civilians for every suspected V.C. death, and to the Vietnamese people, that is operationally genocide. At the time you said the statistical argument was not very convincing.

Now it is my turn, for I find that statistical argument that most of the people who are drafted will not be killed to be an argument that misses the essential points of contention.

My major argument is that the university is here, ostensibly, to educate students and that the mere existence of grading adds great impediments to that process. But, when grades are used to determine totally non-educational decisions and when those decisions carry with them the potential of deciding who is to live and who is to die, then the university function is not only impeded, it is diverted. The point is not the probability of death--although I must point out that we have suffered over 40,000 casualties and over 5,000 deaths in Viet Nam--but that the university should not be engaged in consciously making such decisions. These are more properly the decisions of other people and by making such decisions, by supplying "objective" criteria, the university is taking responsibility away from those people who

should be making the decisions. Thus, sir, the point is not the actuarial one of how many of our military men get killed; the point is that such decisions are not decisions that the university should be engaged in, for they do in fact subvert relations within the university. This brings me to the second major point in your article.

You say that you do not "have the faintest intention of altering either my teaching or my grading methods one bit and if the student-teacher relationship withers it's going to be the students' responsibility and not mine....If the student chooses to have his mind and purpose governed by the military and political bureaucracy in the fashion you describe in your final two paragraphs, that is his choice and not mine." First, I have not suggested that you alter your teaching methods, though I do suggest that perhaps the burden of grading has become so heavy that it may be time to cease that activity.

You have asked me to make finer distinctions in my arguments and to avoid the extreme adjective and the over-simplified statements. Again, it is my turn. I would suggest that the position that the student-teacher relationship is the sole responsibility of the student is a difficult position to defend. The second half of the above-quoted statement embodies a simplistic free-will analysis. One could possibly say it was the student's choice and not yours nor anybody else's if the student were left with an alternative. But that is precisely the point. The overall system in America has become so well integrated, with institutional spheres interpenetrating each other as never before, that there are few possible avenues for escape or

for choice. The situation of the average student can not be understood by imputing to him free will: one must engage in a much more sophisticated analysis of the constraints that the student is facing. What the student is facing is a situation in which if he does not get good grades, he is liable to be drafted. And with being drafted his chances of being killed or injured are upped, plus, as you rightly pointed out, his mind may wither and die while serving in the army. Either way, death or decay, the army is not a very popular life style. Faced with this 'choice' on one hand, his only viable alternative is to get better grades. And to do this is to put a premium on the more mundane and standard techniques for teacher manipulation.

In the pursuit of grades, the student is further cut off from any meaningful process of education. This statement is based on the assumption that for the mind to develop, it must follow its own path, it must tread down dead-end streets, back-track, start over, and maybe fail again. But, above all, it must wander, it must search, it must stray off the beaten path of the 'required reading list.' In sum, it must be free to fail as well as to succeed, for the failures often lead to more than the successes. With grades as important criteria of access to desired occupations, etc., much of this process is thwarted. When grades also determine whether one stays in school or faces the draft, then there is a premium placed on the desire to wander freely.

So, it is not simply a matter of charging the student with free will. The student faces real and deadly constraints on his behavior. He has not asked to have the military or the bureaucracy fashion his choices. They have done it for him by setting up such situational contingencies and

constraints, that the notion of a free choice becomes rather ludicrous.

Thus you (and here I mean the 'you' collectively, for one professor has little power) do have a hand in the choice - you can say, "Look, we are here to educate each other, grades are getting in the way and it is not my business to make decisions about living and dying (be it mental or physical death). So, I am going to help you by taking certain constraints out of your way. We are no longer going to comply--leave the precise method open at this point--with the grading and ranking systems. You are now free to take advantage of what I as a professor, and your fellow students have to offer. I have acted in my sphere of responsibility, now it is your turn. That is, you are now in a situation where it is possible to begin to discuss the notion of choice."

At that point, Dr. Dixon, you can say it's the students' choice to allow the bureaucrats to determine their mental attitude. But until the situational constraints are decreased, it is an unbecoming simplification to state that it is the students' choice and not yours.

Now, to your final point on the war and the draft: If the war is just, then the draft is justified. If the draft is justified, then there must be criteria for drafting. This criteria will have varying degrees of injustice about them because, after all, they are created by human beings. Needless to say, there are a very large number of points which could be argued here. First, I will not agree that the draft is necessary, even to fight 'just' wars. But that is another issue, and here I want to deny your main contention--that it is the 'justness' of the war that determines the whole issue. I am saying that this is a false argument generally, and especially, it misses the point of the

Continued on p 10

No Comment

The following were printed without comment in NEW LEFT NOTES, October 28, 1966

College Young Democrats of America
4149 Southern Ave., S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020

Hon. John M. Bailey, Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chairman Bailey,

It has been brought to my attention through David Banks, Executive Secretary of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, that certain parties in the offices of the Democratic National Committee have denied our organization the right to reproduce and mail out through the Committee our latest group of resolutions and policy positions passed by a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the College Young Democratic Clubs of America in Nashville, Tennessee on September 2-3, 1966.

The explanation presented to our executive secretary, Gary Winget, was that due to the content of the resolution passed on Viet Nam, both the printing facilities and postage for the distribution of the resolution would be denied CYDCA. I am enclosing a copy of the "controversial" resolution on Viet Nam.

Several members of the National Executive Committee of CYDCA wish to make public any denial of Committee facilities for printing and distribution of any official policy resolutions passed by CYDCA. I would prefer not to do so, if at all possible.

I hope to hear from you on this matter at your earliest convenience. I would also be very willing to discuss this question with you personally or anyone of your choosing at the Committee.

Sincerely,

Dale E. Wagner, Chairman

COLLEGE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE -- September 2-3, 1966
Nashville, Tennessee

VIETNAM RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the National Executive Committee of the CYDCA assembled in Washington, D.C. on April 24, 1966 expressed its earnest and sincere disapproval of the present administration policy on Viet Nam, calling for the immediate cease fire on the part of both combatants and a prior halt in American bombing of North Viet Nam; and

WHEREAS, since the time the Administration has increased and intensified the bombing of North Viet Nam even to the point of attacking strategic oil and power facilities in major cities of North Viet Nam, despite a gradual awareness on the part of an ever increasing segment of the American public of the misconceptions upon which the Administration policy is based; and

WHEREAS, present policy is embarrassing and distressing to many of our staunchest allies, especially the United Kingdom and Japan, who have felt increasing annoyances as the war has been escalated; and

WHEREAS, present Administration policy in Viet Nam hampers the efforts of our nation to improve living conditions in underdeveloped countries throughout the world due to the hostility towards official U.S. policy in Viet Nam on the part of most of the governments of these countries; and

WHEREAS, the cost of the war effort in Viet Nam is being paid by the poor of America in that services and opportunities legislated and enlivened by the U.S. government, as recently as a year ago, are becoming symbols of an empty dream due to the government expenditure for the war which should more ideally and morally be channelled into giving aid and opportunity to the poor in our own nation; and

WHEREAS, the American college student is most directly affected by the course of the war, although he has had hardly any voice in deciding this policy due to his inability to vote;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the National Executive Committee of the CYDCA assembled in Nashville, Tennessee, do hereby assert that the administration policy is generally unsound; and we most vigorously call once again for an immediate end to the bombing of North Viet Nam, followed by the entrance of the United Nations' peace force to replace the American forces now in Viet Nam in order that a plebiscite be held as soon as possible under United Nations supervision in the Republic of Viet Nam to decide what status the southern half of Viet Nam shall have in the future and that this plebiscite be either simultaneous with or immediately preceded by a corresponding plebiscite in North Viet Nam.

PASSED 10 to 3

Toward a Humanistic Age

by Ann Schunior

Last month Bill Coats looked into his crystal ball and shared his vision of the computerized, elitist future with us. He then attacked the New Left as being irrelevant because we're stubborn enough to protest the present instead of seeking to understand and adjust to this predestined future.

Mr. Coats overlooked one critical point in his analysis: he fails to realize that it is the present that issues the future. The new age will not suddenly spring into being full grown, but is being nurtured and developed by the existing technology and government. The coming era is not something so separate from today's order that it cannot be comprehended by today's categories and values. Rather, it is the logical conclusion of the forces moving today's society.

Mr. Coats raises a key question when he asks on what business and government leaders will base their ethical consideration. This is important because it seems that ethics is quickly leaving both business and politics. If today's trends are allowed to run their course, it may be this lack of ethics that distinguishes the new era. This needs to be qualified, of course. By ethics I mean a human ethic based on the integrity and worth of each individual. This is being replaced by an anti-humanistic ethic, or what might be a business or technological ethic.

We can see this clearly in businesses. The drug manufacturers prefer to put out a different colored pill with a slightly different chemical formula (so they can call it "new") that does the same thing as older pills rather than develop a new, effective medication that would take several older pills off the market. (Robert

Lichtman, "Toward Community", Center For the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1966) The development of new medication might help thousands of suffering people, but it wouldn't be good for business, so it wouldn't be marketed.

The federal government plays the same game. Millions of aged persons in this country live on meager savings or on even more meager social security dividends. The government decided to help pay their medical expenses through the medicare program. But the AMA and pharmaceutical companies saw that this would endanger their incomes, so they lobbied against it. Congress sided with industry and against people to produce an almost worthless medicare program. In order to receive medicare the individual must pay the first \$50 of the medical bill himself, but medicare is most needed by the poor who haven't that first \$50. Nor does medicare pay the millions of dollars worth of bills that go to preventive medicine that are taken daily to keep the elderly alive. Nor does medicare cover the poorest of the elderly--the retired migrant workers and tenant farmers who never paid social security and so are not entitled to the benefits. With a bill as weak as this, how can we expect a truly adequate medicare bill to come about--one that would pay medical expenses of anyone needing it. The profits of industry are put above the health of the people. What could be more anti-humanistic?

Manifestations of this anti-humanistic ethic are plentiful. Unsafe cars are built because they bring more profit and will go out of style in a year. Billions of dollars are lost in outer space each year instead of relieving the poverty on earth. Gigantic amounts are poured into destroying Vietnamese

cities instead of rehabilitating cities here and making them comfortable places to live, places unplagued by smog and traffic jams.

What makes this anti-humanistic world a political reality? I'll venture the answer that it is the result of elitist control of government and industry. It is the result of a few being able to make decisions in their own self interest. The industrialist must put out inferior products to insure increasing profits and the congressman must follow industrialists to insure their support in the next election. Politics has reached the stage where it is more important to gain the financial support of the men with money, because with this money politicians can run a campaign that will win over the men they're hurting. Goldwater was able to secure many votes from the poor in spite of his platform that would have hurt them had he been elected.

Politics in this country is becoming anti-democratic despite the retention of the democratic form. We can still vote, but the ordinary citizen has no power over whom he chooses between. When some Chicago citizens tried to run their own independent candidates last November, the Democratic Party successfully maneuvered to keep them off the ballots. When residents of Atlanta's Negro ghetto successfully elected Julian Bond to the state legislature, the rest of the legislature refused to seat him because of his unpopular views. This can hardly be called a democracy.

Participatory democracy is an alternative SDS presents to this. This is a way for decisions to be made on the grass-roots level--from the bottom up, not from the top down. Through participatory democracy, important issues intimately effecting the lives of ordinary citizens become political issues. Urban renewal plans would not be thrust upon the residents of an area, but would be

developed with them in accordance with their particular needs and desires. The space program would become a political issue. People could decide for themselves whether money is most needed on the moon or on earth. They could decide what wars they wanted to fight. I'm not suggesting that all these issues be put up to a popular referendum--that everyone vote on all issues. I'm suggesting that in the future candidates must run on meaningful issues, that people be able to vote for candidates that take real stands on real issues that are of daily concern to the citizens.

When candidates are forced to take stands on these issues, and forced to live up to their campaign promises since a failure to do so would risk defeat in the next election, these major decisions would be shifted from the elites at the top to the people at the bottom. Participatory democracy means a basic change in the distribution of power.

The belief that this shift in power will force the needed social reforms is not based on a romantic notion that the powerless are more humanitarian than the elites. Rather, common sense tells the powerless what they need--whether it be cheaper food or better schools. Since there is a limited amount of money available in this country (as demonstrated by the shift of money out of the poverty program and into the War in Vietnam) this money will have to come from somewhere, perhaps from the war, the space program, or the disproportionate profits of many industries. Hence the War in Vietnam will be fought indirectly by demanding that the money being used for it be used instead for the immediate needs of the population. This form of democracy would have more humane results since each person would have his practical interest at stake. Most people would rather see their tax money spent on something that is of

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obvious benefit to them than on a far-away war that presents no threat to them or their country. They'd rather lower the price of medicine than allow businesses to accumulate too much wealth. Their motivation isn't humanitarian. It's pragmatic common sense.

Mr. Coats says that the New Left's protests against the war are misdirected. I'm not going to argue that our protests have been effective. Rather, I want to point out that we protest not only the war, but the society that makes this war possible. It is today's society--already practically devoid of human considerations--that makes this war a reality. This same society will bring in the new age of mass technology and more elitist government that Mr. Coats describes. We do not accept his vision as a fait accompli, but as a result of a process already in motion.

I agree with Mr. Coats that the technological changes being developed will make the future significantly different from the present. But technological changes do not happen by themselves. Someone must decide how to use these new developments. If the present elites maintain their power, I think our future looks dismally anti-humanistic. The decisions regarding how technology shall be used--as well as all other far reaching social decisions--must be made by those who must live with the consequences of the decisions, the citizens. They will not allow the future to become dehumanized because they would not dehumanize themselves. The New Left's protest against the present social and political policies is a refusal to accept Mr. Coats' vision of the future, as well as any other future that is not democratically determined.

WALLER REPLIES

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argument that I am making. The argument being made here is that the draft subverts the function of the university in many ways, and that even in the possible situation of the 'just' war, it would still be no business of the university to aid in such a manner.

This can be argued on three points. One, that by having the university as a preserve from the draft, you are putting undue premium on the wealth of a person's parents. Second, that within the university you are making distinctions between people as to who is 'good' and worthy of being saved and who is 'bad' and available for insuring the safety and protection of the 'good.' It has yet to be demonstrated to me that the more intelligent humanities major is more 'important' to the operation of the system than the dumb one; and, even if it were so, would it be a proper justification for saying that smartness is a criteria for surviving while dumbness is a criteria for dying? Have we so subverted the notion of Democracy and travelled so far down the road to the "Meritocracy" that we now equate intelligence with goodness and the right to life?

Con't on p 11



Waller- Con't.

Third, and finally, within the university the entire function of the university is thwarted to some degree by having it take part in the process of selecting recruits. It would seem to me, that even within the unlikely context of a 'just' war, there should be places where free thought is encouraged in the hopes that such free thought may discover why it is necessary to have 'just' wars. As I have pointed out, just this type of free thought is subverted by the ranking process. If, however, the university were to refuse to aid in the recruitment process, the pursuit of free thought would not be harmed. Thus, the argument from 'justness' does not convince and seems to be one which essentially misses the point.

This, at last, brings me to your final comments. First, there are some sentences to the effect that we in SDS are 'going through a phase.' This argument I will ignore because I do not want to engage in intergenerational baiting. Let me simply say that if youth breeds passion and the trauma of reality shock, age does not necessarily bring wisdom.

The point I do want to discuss is the charge that SDS has not said what it is that it wants. That is, we are being charged with that most damnable of traits, "negativism." I would like to point out that any statement of "NO!" normally implies just as strong a statement of "YES!" If we say, "End ranking," then it seems that the implication is that what we want is not ranking, which I define as a positive statement. What is also implied and stated explicitly in my writing is that what we want is a better chance to educate ourselves. We are asking for that choice to which

you have so willingly condemned us; but we want that choice under meaningful conditions. I could go on and on with this type of analysis -- e.g., when we say no more discrimination, it seems to me that this is a positive statement of what we would like to see-- but there is no need to pursue the point further. We do plead guilty to the charge of not being entirely clear on what we want in the sense that we do not have a neat blueprint of the future. We do recognize that we are not in possession of omniscience. We do not have a detailed diagram of Utopia. What we do have at present is a certain set of ideals -- rather mundane ones like liberty, equality, fraternity -- and we see things that are subverting these ideals. We are now struggling with developing sufficiently precise and subtle analysis of the present situation so that we can delineate strategies of change. It is a new journey, we have miles to go, and we welcome your help.



PIEM IN LE FIGARO LITTERAIRE (PARIS)

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Lament
of
the
ibm card

today
i
dropped a bomb
on the wrong village

children screaming
seared flesh
quiet weeping

they did not know
my name

just yesterday
i
took the bread
from begging mouths

no one calling
welfare silence
quiet weeping

they did not know
my name

last week
i
sent young men
to die in mud

fire flashing
gurgling groans
quiet weeping

they did not know
my name

next year
i
may bring
peace

i
manmade
paper
cheap

i
may bring
peace

i
confetti god
on puppet string
may bring peace

if hands
slip

and punch
a 0

i
may bring peace

if minds
stay

and do not
climb

above
my
paper
reality

i
may bring peace

please

-bryden gordon